

ON THE QUESTION OF KOREA

SPEECHES OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT THE 28TH SESSION OF
THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PYONGYANG, KOREA

1974

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**Foreign Languages Publishing House
Pyongyang, Korea
1974**

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Korean question has been debated by the United Nations ever since 1947. But the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which speaks for the interests of all the Korean people, was unjustly precluded from participation in the debate.

For the first time in 26 years the 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly discussed the Korean question with the attendance of the representative of the DPRK, the direct party to the matter.

At the session the delegates of socialist countries and many progressive and peace-loving nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America made speeches in active support of the just stand of the Government of the DPRK for an independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

The session expressed unanimous support for the three principles of Korean reunification laid down in the North-South Joint Statement made on July 4, 1972 and decided on disorganizing the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea".

This is a great victory achieved in the joint struggle of the governments of the DPRK and the progressive nations and the peace-loving people the world over.

This book contains some of the delegates' speeches on the Korean question made at the Political Committee meetings of the 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly (Reprinted from the provisional verbatim record).

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LI JONG MOK

Democratic People's Republic of Korea

SPEECH MADE ON NOVEMBER 14

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is taking part in the discussion of the question on Korea in the United Nations at the unanimously approved invitation of the First Committee at the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

First of all, I wish to express, in the name of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, my deep thanks to you, Mr. Chairman, and those representatives who have accorded us welcome and to the representatives of all those Member States of the United Nations who have undertaken many years of active struggle to enable the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in the discussion of the question on Korea at the United Nations.

At the same time I express my heartfelt thanks to the representatives of friendly countries who have extended support and encouragement to the just cause of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of our fatherland through their statements during the general debates at the United Nations General Assembly, and offer my deep gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the United Nations General Assembly and other United Nations officials for their co-operation and facilities extended to our delegation in its work and activities.

The participation of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the discussion of the question on Korea at the United Nations as the party concerned is, indeed, the first of its kind in the last 26 years since the beginning of the discussion of the Korean question at the United Nations.

I think it is good for the United Nations to have invited

the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and regard it as a brilliant fruition borne by the joint efforts made by all the peace-loving countries of the world to defend the noble ideals and principles of the United Nations.

This clearly shows that a just cause is bound to win eventually and that nothing can check the trend of history.

Now I should like to clarify the principled stand and viewpoints maintained by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the question of Korea placed on the agenda of this session for discussion, as the party directly concerned.

I shall stress our viewpoints on such questions as why Korea was divided, why it has not yet been reunified, what the main obstacle blocking its reunification is and where the key to its solution is.

A long period of 28 years has already elapsed since the artificial division of Korea.

And 26 years have passed since the discussion of the Korean question was started at the United Nations without finding any solution.

It is clear to anyone that this is not a normal state. The Korean people are a homogeneous nation who have lived in harmony for thousands of years in the same territory with one language and one culture and custom. Therefore, the division of the country was unthinkable for the Korean people from the outset.

The division of Korea has brought indescribable national misfortunes and sufferings to our people. Owing to the division, our nation has failed to achieve a uniform development of the country and the gap between the North and the South is widening with each passing day. Parents, wives and children, relatives and friends separated in the North and the South are in a miserable state in which they cannot even exchange letters inquiring after each other's safety, to say nothing of meeting each other.

It is said that even mountains and rivers change in a decade. But owing to the division that has lasted such a long time as having a new generation grow up in such stern circumstances, sons in the North cannot recognize their mothers in the South and wives in the South cannot recognize their husbands in the North, and even the national identity of our people formed over a long history is fading away gradually.

Owing to the division, our people underwent a war and

even today the continuation of this division remains a main source of tension in Korea and a threat to peace in Asia.

Since its involvement in the Korean question, the United Nations has not solved the question, nor can it wriggle out of it, having shouldered a heavy burden thereof for more than a quarter century, which, we believe, is a calamity for the United Nations.

The division of Korea should not last any longer, either from the national point of view of our people, or from the humanitarian point of view or in the light of world peace. To restore the unification of Korea, the root cause of its division should be removed first of all.

Then, what is the root cause? Since history is not only a record of past facts, but also a lesson and warning for today and tomorrow, we do not think it would be a bad idea to look back for a while at the historical facts of how Korea was divided. The division of Korea was caused precisely by the interference of outside forces in our country. No Korean can hope for national division. No complicated problems would have arisen in restoring the unification if it had been left to the Koreans themselves, even when it is presumed that the temporary division of Korea was caused by some inevitable reasons. It was only due to the interference of outside forces that Korea was divided, and it is the interference of outside forces that has prevented Korea from achieving its reunification to date.

The question originated from the time when the United States army landed on the zone south of the 38th degree north latitude on 8 September 1945, more than 20 days after the liberation of Korea, under the pretext of disarming the defeated Japanese armed forces.

The United States army had no sooner landed in South Korea than it proclaimed the enforcement of its military government; it repressed and dissolved all the people's organs of power already set up by the Korean people themselves, and blocked the 38th parallel like a border line, and cut off all traffic and transportation, communications and the travel of people between the north and the south, which had been freely available till that time, thereby carving out the tragic division of Korea.

The Foreign Ministers Conference comprising the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom, held in Moscow in December 1945, adopted a decision to "re-establish Korea as an independent State" and "set up a provisional democratic government" in Korea; but the United States unilaterally

abrogated this decision and conducted a separate "election" in South Korea to frame a separate "régime", with the result that the temporary division of Korea eventually became frozen.

The United States provoked the aggressive war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to extend its new colonialist ruling system, set up in South Korea, to the whole area of Korea, but suffering a defeat, signed the Armistice Agreement; and even after that, it has been violating the Armistice Agreement systematically while tightening its colonial rule over South Korea and stepping up preparations for war. All this constitutes the biggest obstacle to the reunification of Korea today.

How did the United Nations get involved in the Korean question? Its involvement originated from the fact that the United States forcibly brought the Korean question to the United Nations by using the dominant position which it held temporarily in the United Nations when the majority of the present Member States were not yet affiliated with the United Nations, in order to justify all its illegal acts under the name of the United Nations — dividing the Korean nation, reducing South Korea to its colony and military base, provoking the war, maintaining the state of military confrontation between the North and the South, etc.

Bringing the Korean question to the United Nations was a violation of Chapter XVII, Article 107, of the United Nations Charter, which excludes the discussion of the questions of post-war settlement.

It was also a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter, which prohibits the discussion of domestic affairs of any State.

From the first days of the country's division, the Korean people have opposed the interference and nation-splitting machinations of the foreign forces of aggression and made every effort to safeguard firmly one Korea and to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

The Korean people founded the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the basis of socio-economic transformations effected in the northern half after liberation, and in a nationwide struggle against the policies of the foreign imperialist forces for colonial enslavement and national split, that became more and more undisguised every day.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has sustained the principles of independence, self-reliance and self-defence in all fields of its State activity, as the patrio-

tic and anti-imperialist Power inheriting the brilliant tradition established in the long-drawn-out yet glorious revolutionary struggle against imperialism, for the restoration of the fatherland, and as the genuine people's power embodying the unanimous aspiration of the entire Korean people for freedom and independence.

In the field of its foreign activity, too, the Government of our Republic exercises its right to complete equality and sovereignty and holds fast to the principle of strengthening internationalist solidarity and co-operation with the peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world, fighting against imperialism, colonialism and racism for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress, standing firm on the common front with them.

With the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our people have indeed become a mighty and dignified nation which no one would dare to flout, shedding for ever the former bitter fate of a ruined people and becoming the resourceful people of a sovereign, independent State who are building their country through their own efforts.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has invariably taken the position that Korea should be reunified into one and the question of reunification should be solved by peaceful means, out of the intrinsic nature of its socio-state system which has liquidated all forms of exploitation and oppression, and out of the lofty responsibility it assumes before the entire nation.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the respected and beloved leader of our people, said earlier, with regard to the basic line of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for national reunification, the following:

"Our Government's position with regard to the question of Korean reunification is clear.

"We have consistently maintained that Korea's reunification should be achieved independently and peacefully on democratic principles without any interference from outside forces."

On the basis of these principles, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the political parties and social organizations in the northern half of the Republic have made proposals for peaceful reunification more than 130 times from the date of liberation until now.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea made a proposal, as the basis for the country's reunification, to establish a unified central government composed of representatives of people of all strata through free North-South general elections to be held in a democratic way without the interference of any outside forces, after the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

We proposed to enforce a North-South confederation as a transitional step and to realize economic and cultural exchange, travel, correspondence, and so on, if the South Korean authorities could not accept the holding of free North-South general elections right now.

We also proposed the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, the conclusion of a peace agreement between the North and the South to refrain from attack against each other, and the reduction of armed forces of the North and the South to 100,000 men or fewer, respectively, in order to remove the tension created in the North and the South.

The proposals made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, historically, for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country proceeded from the fundamental principle that one should hew out one's destiny by one's own efforts in accordance with the sacred principle of national self-determination; these just and reasonable proposals were advanced with full consideration of the different situations created by the division between the North and the South.

If any of these fair and reasonable proposals of ours had been translated into practice, the question of Korean reunification would have been settled long ago.

Entering the 1970s, new changes took place in the internal and external situation of our country.

In such circumstances Comrade President Kim Il Sung, in his historic speech dated 6 August 1971, elucidated a new line for wide-range negotiations between the North and the South, expressing our readiness to make contacts at any time with all the political parties, including the "Democratic Republican Party", social organizations and individual personages of South Korea.

This epochal proposal marked a decisive momentum that led at last to a thaw in the long-standing state of freeze between the North and the South and opened a door to dialogue and contact in Korea.

When Comrade President Kim Il Sung advanced this proposal, the pressure of the South Korean people increased and the voices of the peoples of the world became higher irresistibly in the demand for the realization of the proposal. This compelled the South Korean authorities, who had so far been dead set against all contacts between the North and the South, to enter into dialogue with us, though in the form of talks between the Red Cross organizations.

We were very glad of this and welcomed it.

We made every sincere effort to bring the Red Cross talks to a success and, at the same time, strove to arrange wider-range political negotiations.

This resulted in the announcement of the North-South Joint Statement on 4 July 1972, which contains in its essence three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

Indeed, the publication of the North-South Joint Statement was a great event of historic significance in the struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of the fatherland.

This showed glaringly once again that the policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — which had endeavoured to achieve the reunification of the country independently by peaceful means and on a democratic principle from the principled stand of solving national affairs through one's own efforts and on one's own responsibility — was absolutely correct.

It demonstrated that Korea is one, that the Korean nation demands reunification and the Korean people are capable of and resourceful in solving the question of reunification by themselves.

The Governments and peoples of all peace-loving countries of the world, to say nothing of the entire Korean people, warmly welcomed and highly appreciated the publication of the North-South Joint Statement and expressed unanimous hope for its future success.

After the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, our side continued positive efforts to translate the agreed points of the Joint Statement into practice at the earliest possible date in order to satisfy the long-cherished desire of the entire nation for reunification.

First of all, we proposed collaboration between the north and the south in all political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields, as a concrete effort towards fulfilling in earnest

the three principles of national reunification clarified in the North-South Joint Statement.

In particular, we put forward a five-point proposal for abolishing the present state of military confrontation between the north and the south — to cease arms reinforcement and the arms race, to make all foreign troops withdraw, to reduce armed forces and military expenditure, to ban the introduction of weapons from foreign countries and conclude a peace agreement — the key points of the most pressing urgency and importance in dispelling mistrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south and in creating an atmosphere of mutual trust between them to promote a dialogue.

For collaboration in the economic field, we proposed to develop jointly mineral resources that are abundant in the northern half, open fishing grounds in the north and south for joint fishing, and undertake joint irrigation projects in the southern half and so on.

For collaboration in the scientific field, we proposed to carry out joint research work for co-ordinating our national language, and to make a joint study of the history of our country to add lustre to the peculiar national traits of our people, exchange art troupes and sports teams and enter jointly the international arena by forming a single national art troupe and a single sports team.

These concrete proposals of ours were aimed at deepening mutual understanding, tearing down the barriers of division and providing a practical basis for national unity, thereby actively paving the way to reunification.

We expected the South Korean authorities to accept our proposals readily since they had agreed with us on achieving national reunification peacefully without recourse to armed forces, and independently on the principle of national unity of the North-South Joint Statement.

But, to our regret, none of our proposals received the due response from the South Korean authorities.

The South Korean authorities continued to refuse to respond to our proposals which no doubt were acceptable to them, while continuously delaying the dialogue, talking about confrontation, competition and coexistence, instead of the unity, collaboration and reunification demanded by us and, in the end, made public the so-called “special foreign policy statement on peace and reunification”, openly revealing their ulterior motive

to divide Korea into two States, in complete violation of the 4 July North-South Joint Statement.

This came like a bolt from the blue for the entire people in the north and the south of Korea; it was like throwing rocks at the chests of all the Koreans who aspire to reunification, to disappoint them.

This fully exposed them in their true colours as double-faced, division-seeking elements who speak fine words when they sit face to face with us around the table of dialogue but who, when they go back, hatch plots, clamour about confrontation, for over a year.

The South Korean authorities who have intensified their harsh suppression and murder of the South Korean people aspiring for reunification and opposing two Koreas, went the length of going to Tokyo, Japan, and openly committing the abduction in broad daylight of Mr. Kim Dae Joong, a famous South Korean democratic figure, who demanded peaceful reunification.

All the facts glaringly show who is really striving for peace and reunification of the country and who is really seeking division, running along the road to the aggravation of antagonism and tension in Korea.

We demand one Korea but the South Korean authorities cry for two Koreas; we propose collaboration and unity as a nation, but they want confrontation among fellow countrymen while collaborating with outside forces.

Korea, which has been one organic body from its origin, cannot live divided into two. All the Korean people, whether they live in the north or in the south, unanimously desire our nation to be reunified into its former self as one; none of them wants its division.

Only reunification into one Korea fully conforms with the interests of peace in Asia and the world.

In future, too, no matter what obstacles may come, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will surmount them courageously and fight on resolutely for one Korea alone.

It is indisputably clear that the root cause of the failure of Korea's reunification and its long-standing sufferings as a result of division lies in the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops and continued foreign interference in our internal affairs.

The developments during the year since the publication of the North-South Joint Statement have proved more clearly that

an end must be put to the interference of outside forces before anything else in order to preserve peace in Korea and achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

It is none other than the interference of outside forces that has led the dialogue between the North and the South to the brink of rupture without making any progress, in spite of our sincere efforts and the unanimous expectation of public opinion at home and abroad.

Even after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, the United States has stubbornly pursued the policy of making Koreans fight Koreans, employing double-faced tactics under the "Nixon doctrine". The United States State Department announced on the very next day after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement that the United States would keep its troops in South Korea and "continue to help modernize the ROK army", even if the dialogue were started between the North and the South, and that it would foster the ability of the South Korean authorities to "negotiate with confidence from the position of strength in the contacts with North Korea".

This is an open rejection of the North-South Joint Statement and an act of egging on the South Korean authorities with the policy of confrontation by strength, instead of peaceful reunification.

The United States has stepped up the arms race and war preparations in South Korea not only in words but also in deeds. Last year alone the United States provided South Korea with a huge amount of military and economic "aid"; while United States army units, together with the South Korean army, conducted large-scale joint military exercises one after another in simulated attacks on the northern half of the Republic and perpetrated frequent military provocations against the northern half of our Republic.

An appendix of information on the actual arms reinforcement and war preparations made by the United States side after the publication of the 4 July North-South Joint Statement is attached to the prepared copies of this statement.

The United States authorities are engaged in increasing their military expenditures and conducting war exercises and military provocations under the pretext of backing the dialogue. But how can one interpret it as backing the dialogue? This is nothing but an attempt to destroy the atmosphere of peace, to create a war climate and to instigate antagonism and distrust between the North and the South to perpetuate the division.

Besides, the United States is actively involving Japan in its machinations to freeze the division of Korea. According to American and Japanese news agency reports, at the United States-Japan summit talks held in Washington late last July the United States

“...urged Japan to take over the economic and military aid to South Korea for the defence build-up and modernization of the South Korean army as part of the concrete realization of the Nixon doctrine in the Far East”; and they reached an agreement on pushing ahead with their policy of two Koreas in presupposition of defending South Korea with strength.

Japan has already started to behave as the second master, next to the United States, in South Korea and is running amok at the forefront in hampering the reunification, to convert South Korea into its commodity market by permanently dividing the country into two. In August last, it colluded directly with the South Korean authorities in the conspiracy of abducting a South Korean democratic figure who advocated reunification, in the very centre of Tokyo, and taking him to Seoul in broad daylight. Revived Japanese militarism has posed itself as another big stumbling-block in the way of the peaceful reunification of Korea and a threat to peace in Asia.

The interference of the above-described outside forces of all sorts must be eliminated in order to preserve peace in Korea and to achieve the peaceful reunification of Korea.

The “United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea” — a tool of the outside forces for interference — should be dissolved; the foreign troops under the name of “United Nations forces” withdrawn from South Korea; the Japanese army prevented from coming into South Korea after the pull-out of the United States army; and the Korean question left to the Korean people themselves.

The Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea has demanded time and again that, for the successful conduct of the North-South dialogue that followed the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, the outside forces should get out; and that it is necessary for the United Nations to take measures for the withdrawal of these outside forces since they are in South Korea in the name of the United Nations.

We consider that the current twenty-eighth session of the

General Assembly of the United Nations should take the necessary measures for removing the basic obstacles in the way of the peaceful reunification of Korea so that the United Nations can give genuine help to the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea, in conformity with the trend of the present time.

The joint draft resolution presented to this session by Algeria and 34 other countries correctly embodies this demand of the times and vividly reflects the stand for peace, independence, patriotism and reunification. Contrary to this, the draft resolution submitted by the United States and other colonialist Powers, both of the past and of the present, as its prime movers openly stresses the necessity of maintaining an unstable armistice instead of a lasting peace in Korea, seeks the continued presence of foreign troops in South Korea under that pretext and calls for keeping Korea divided into North and South instead of for its reunification.

These two opposite draft resolutions prove that the discussion of the question of Korea at the United Nations is, in essence, characterized by the struggle between the newly emerging forces that have embarked upon the creation of a new life since the Second World War and the old forces of colonial domination that attempt to block the former.

The "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", which has already been in the process of collapse, is destined for dissolution at the present session of the United Nations General Assembly, under the increasing pressure of world public opinion. But that "Commission" has failed to abandon its true colours up to the last moment before it disappears from the scene. It has again told a string of lies on its activities and the developments in Korea, completely reversing black and white, in its "annual report" to the General Assembly of the United Nations. It has attempted to cling to another political plot of conspiracy by clamouring in its "annual report" that, though the "UNCURK" is to come to the end of its existence, the "United Nations forces" should continue to remain in South Korea. But that is a self-contradictory argument.

The designers of this plot are falling into a trap set by themselves. The "UNCURK" has become a good-for-nothing body that has no choice but to dissolve itself, leaving behind only scandals in the world. This proves that it was wrong from the outset to set up this "Commission", which has gone bankrupt.

Is it not true that if the "UNCURK", which claimed to "represent the United Nations" in South Korea, has come to

an end, that means also that the "United Nations forces", based on the same ground as the "UNCURK", will also have no more excuse to remain in South Korea any longer?

In fact, there is no ground whatsoever for foreign troops to remain any longer in South Korea. They must get out as soon as possible. There are no foreign troops whatsoever in the northern half of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The occupation of other territories by foreign troops is itself a flagrant violation of territorial integrity and sovereignty. The continued occupation of South Korea by foreign troops is a violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, which envisages the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, and a contravention of the North-South Joint Statement, which provides for reunifying the country independently, without the interference of outside forces.

All foreign troops have withdrawn even from South Vietnam, where the war ended recently; then why should foreign troops stay on still in South Korea only, when more than 20 years have already passed since the realization of armistice?

Furthermore, it stands to reason that they cannot remain there under the name of the "United Nations forces". It is known to the whole world that the "United Nations forces" stationed in South Korea were established in violation of United Nations principles from the outset; that they are not under the jurisdiction of the United Nations Secretary-General; and that they have so far acted without any relation with the United Nations. On what ground can the "United Nations forces" remain in South Korea today, when a long time has already elapsed since the armistice in Korea and when Korea is not in a state of war?

As a matter of fact, no country keeps its troops there under the "United Nations Command" today. The only foreign troops left there are soldiers of the United States Army. Why should the United States Army continue to enjoy the signboard of the "United Nations forces"?

It is anachronistic to keep the "United Nations forces" in South Korea any longer. The United States claims to keep its troops in South Korea to "protect" it. Who on earth is "protecting" whom?

The United States pretext of "threat of southward aggression" is untenable in view of the fact that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made it clear time and again that it has no intention of "invading south"

and that the North-South Joint Statement has been made public. The United States Army in South Korea is by no means an army "protecting" the South Korean people, but it is an occupation force which has been engaged in a national insult to the Korean people, suppressing and murdering them and plundering Korea of its natural resources. That has been revealed irrefutably by a couple of incidents that occurred only recently.

According to the South Korean news agencies, on 7 October last more than 200 United States troops in Paju County, South Korea, again raided the civilian residential streets of the district where they were stationed, inflicting heavy damage upon the inhabitants; and on 12 October more than 50 United States soldiers in Pyongtaek County broke into civilian shops to plunder them, committing the atrocity of causing heavy wounds to a number of the inhabitants. That is the "protection" of the South Korean people by the United States troops. To talk about what they call "protection" from "the threat of southward aggression" and the like is, in the final analysis, no more than a nonsense that has been concocted artificially to justify the occupation of South Korea by the United States Army and camouflage its neo-colonialist rule over South Korea.

Unable to find any pretext to convince others of the necessity for the further presence of the "United Nations forces" in South Korea, the United States and the South Korean authorities are now even spreading the argument that if the current session of the United Nations General Assembly approved the draft resolution calling for the withdrawal of the "United Nations forces" without any counter-measures it would rather incur danger, as the Armistice Agreement would disappear in Korea and a "vacuum" would be created.

That is an argument also devoid of any validity. What is the "vacuum"?

There was a war and there is still a danger of war in Korea simply because foreign troops are stationed in South Korea; accordingly, if foreign troops pull out of South Korea the danger of war will decrease that much. When the foreign troops pull out of South Korea, there will remain in Korea only the armed forces of the North and the South. In that case, since there exists the North-South Joint Statement in which the North and the South have pledged not to fight with each other and to prevent all armed clashes, big and small, that Joint Statement will guarantee peace in Korea so long as the South Korean authorities do not violate it.

Furthermore, we have proposed to conclude a peace agreement between the North and the South to replace the Armistice Agreement. It is no more than gossip derived from an evil design to talk about "vacuum" and the like, ignoring our clear-cut proposal. What kind of "vacuum" can be created when a peace agreement is concluded immediately after the withdrawal of the foreign troops and military expenditure is cut? There will be no "vacuum". The problem in fact is that the "United Nations forces" constitute a wart on the face of Korea. Only when this wart is removed can unity and collaboration between the North and the South be achieved and peaceful reunification realized.

The question is whether or not they have an attitude of true sincerity in keeping peace in Korea. We will immediately conclude a peace agreement with the South Korean authorities if they respond to our suggestion after all the foreign troops withdraw from South Korea in the future and we will continue to make all efforts to solve the question of reunification independently and peacefully on the principle of great national unity as provided for in the North-South Joint Statement without fail.

Korea will be reunified peacefully by the Korean people themselves when all outside forces get out of Korea.

The draft resolution presented by the United States side to this session contains an abnormal question of simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas, which runs counter to the vital interests of the Korean people. It is even unthinkable for the Korean people, who have lived as a single nation for thousands of years, to enter the United Nations separately, divided into two Koreas, in our generation. If our country of one nation by its origin enters the United Nations while divided into two parts, it will be recognized internationally as two States and its division will be perpetuated. For the Korean people, division is a road leading to treachery, national ruin and death, whereas reunification is the only way to survival.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already made clear its principled stand of absolutely opposing the simultaneous entry into the United Nations of two Koreas, through its memorandum issued on 26 September last. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regards it as natural for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to enter the United Nations and approaches with deep gratitude the sincere wishes of many friendly countries which support the admission of our Republic to the United Nations.

But, in the light of the unanimous desire of the whole nation to prevent the division of the country and to accomplish its reunification, the Government of our Republic maintains the position that our country should not enter the United Nations before the reunification of the country but should enter it as one Korea after reunification is achieved or at least a confederation of the North and the South is instituted.

It is clear to everyone that if Korea, originally a single national State, enters the United Nations as two Koreas, that will lead to the perpetual division of the country.

The sponsors of the draft resolution calling for simultaneous entry into the United Nations of two Koreas allege that a two-Koreas membership of the United Nations will not perpetuate the division, describing it as if it were a "means" of maintaining peace in Korea and promoting its reunification in an attempt to camouflage the true state of affairs. If a two-Koreas membership of the United Nations could really be a "means" of maintaining peace in Korea and accelerating its reunification, as they allege, then why have they so far, for over a quarter century, doggedly prevented the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from even coming to the United Nations to make statements when the Korean question was discussed here? We believe that a two-Koreas membership of the United Nations can never be a "means" of maintaining peace in Korea and accelerating its reunification, that it runs counter to the principles of the United Nations to raise the question of admission to the United Nations as a "means" of solving outstanding issues.

The United States and the South Korean authorities claim that membership in the United Nations of the North and the South would promote mutual trust and reduce the possibilities of armed conflicts; but it is nothing but another crafty trick to make a mockery of the world's peace-loving people, which cherish expectations of goodwill from the United Nations.

How can one allege that the split of a single national State into two parts will constitute a means of promoting reunification? Granted that the North and the South would enter the United Nations, betraying all the principles and basic spirit of the North-South Joint Statement which was unanimously welcomed and supported throughout the world and leaving in a deadlock the dialogue which has been arranged, what sort of atmosphere of trust can be created and what kind of guarantee for peace provided therefrom?

If we give up the dialogue which has been conducted so far among one nation and fellow-countrymen and move the theatre to the United Nations to meet each other on a State-versus-State basis here, it will not bring the two sides closer but cause an estrangement between them. The South Korean authorities say that they cannot trust us when we propose to conclude a peace agreement nor can they put trust in us even though they have put their signature on the North-South Joint Statement together with us, a Statement whereby both sides pledged not to fight each other. Such being the case, how can they trust us when both the North and the South enter the United Nations?

Tension is persisting in Korea today and the danger of war is still lingering there not because of the failure of membership of the United Nations for the North and the South but because of the continued presence of foreign troops in South Korea.

It is a foolish fantasy of those who are indifferent to the sufferings of others to believe that the forced membership into the United Nations of such a single national State as Korea with its long history, divided into two, in spite of these stern realities and under the pretext of what they call maintenance of status quo, can constitute a means of maintaining peace. This will never help the stabilization of the situation or the maintenance of peace in the Korean peninsula but will further create tension and the source of constant discord and strife in the area.

Our nation has remained divided into two owing to the artificial division of the country and to this date millions of our people have been suffering from the bitter tribulation of being unable to meet their parents, brothers and sisters ever since they were forcibly separated from each other. Such being the reality, how can the people endure their sufferings if they are forced to live separated for good by dividing their country completely into two parts instead of restoring its unification?

And they will rise to fight against the forces opposing the reunification when it turns out to be intolerable for them. Nobody can foresee the consequences that might be resulted therefrom. How can it be expected that they would not run a risk, even going through water and fire? Hence, the simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas does not conform in fact with the principles of the United Nations Charter aimed at the maintenance and consolidation of peace.

Our nation cannot be divided nor can it live separated. This is neither a matter of classes nor a matter related to the northern half alone. It is a matter of kinship which is related

to the whole of Korea. Even according to the south Korean authorities, 5 million people were forcibly taken from the north to the south during the Korean war, and 10 million people are said to be separated from their families.

The south Korean authorities themselves once said that these people must be allowed again to meet each other freely and get reunited. Then, why do they suddenly start to claim that the country be divided into two? This is an act of betrayal. Do they believe that they can live in peace for ever and their régime maintained after committing such an inhumane act as completely confining the countrymen of one kinship separated from each other, by forcibly freezing the split of the nation?

Of late, the struggles of the people against fascism and the régime have erupted again in south Korea. In early October last, tens of thousands of student youths waged a massive anti-government demonstration in Seoul, shouting: "Down with the Pak régime. Dissolve at once the 'Central Intelligence Agency', the brewhouse of fascist intelligence policy. Establish the independence of economy and ensure the right of the people to existence!" and "Give us freedom or death."

The south Korean authorities are harshly suppressing them. But on 5 November the students of Kyongbuk University, in Taegu, North Kyongsang Province, waged a massive resistance struggle, shouting: "Pak Jung Hi, quit. Down with revitalizing dictatorship." On the same day, democratic figures of various strata in south Korea made public a declaration on the situation calling on the entire people to fight with might and main for democracy.

It is more preposterous indeed if the simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas is aimed at reviving the south Korean régime by putting a nice hat on it, which is gasping in the face of the distrust and opposition of the people and in isolation from the people.

As the struggle that the south Korean people have waged against the successive rulers of south Korea shows clearly, their struggle against fascism for social democracy has always been a struggle against a national split and for reunification. Today the overwhelming majority of the south Korean people, with the exception of a tiny handful of the traitors, are opposed to the permanent division of the country into two Koreas and the south Korean opposition parties, too, are opposing a national split.

The argument of those who have proposed the simultaneous

entry into the United Nations by two Koreas is a baseless lie and a trick from every angle. We maintain that the proposal for simultaneous entry into the United Nations of two Koreas should be naturally eliminated, for it has nothing to do from the start with the item which is now being discussed here. It is an intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people and an insult to them that third parties have proposed in haste such a question as simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas, something which the Korean people themselves do not want and which the parties concerned in the north and the south of Korea have not agreed on. This glaringly proves that they are pursuing a purpose entirely different from the reason they put forward outwardly.

If they have no wild ambition for aggression to turn Korea into their permanent military base and if they have no colonial ambition to convert even south Korea alone into their commodity market, why should they try to divide our nation into two permanently? "Divide and rule" is an old method of the colonial rule of the imperialists. Every people of the third world, who were subjected alike to suppression by imperialism and colonialism in the past, are fully aware of the heinous and crafty method of colonial rule of the imperialists and colonialists.

It is our judgement that the proposal for simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas is another crafty trick, in the final analysis, for covering up, in the name of the United Nations, the imperialists' old method of divide and rule for colonial domination.

The United States has relied on the "United Nations forces" and the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and the like for a long time to conceal its manoeuvres of aggression and intervention against Korea. But when it is going into bankruptcy, it is trying to save the situation through a new trick of simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas. But it is also doomed to failure.

Analysis of the statements made by the representatives of various countries of the world during the general debate at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly shows that they unanimously hope to see Korea reunified as one through a successful dialogue between the north and the south and that none of them hope to see Korea divided. Why should Korea be split into two States when the whole world so much wants its reunification?

The United Nations is a universal organization. It should

no longer side with anyone to become his tool for interference in the internal affairs of another country or neo-colonialist rule over it. It should not fan the tragic division of a nation but should help it to realize its reunification.

Today in this forum we appeal to all representatives who have taken part in this session and all the countries of the world to regard the heart-rending realities and hardship our people are undergoing due to the long-standing national split as the pains of their own peoples and to make positive efforts to prevent Korea from being divided and to realize its reunification.

Through its contacts with the representatives of many countries at this meeting, our delegation has come to realize more clearly that it is the common desire of all peace-loving peoples and countries to see the dissolution of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and withdrawal from south Korea of all the foreign troops under the signboard of "United Nations forces".

Today it is an irresistible trend of the times that all the countries and nations of the world, big and small, are taking the road of liberation and independence.

The Korean people will be fully able to accomplish the historic cause of national reunification by themselves peacefully if the "UNCURK" is dissolved, if the foreign troops under the signboard of "United Nations forces" withdraw from south Korea and if an end is put to foreign interference in the internal affairs of the country.

On 23 June last, the respected and beloved leader Comrade President Kim Il Sung newly spelled out a five-point programme of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for national reunification out of an earnest desire to tide over the difficulties in the way of reunification and realize the long-cherished aspirations of our nation for peaceful national reunification as soon as possible.

The main contents of the programme are as follows:

1. To improve relations between the north and the south of Korea and accelerate the peaceful reunification of the country, it is necessary first of all to eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the north and the south.

2. To improve north-south relations and expedite the country's reunification, it is necessary to materialize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the north and the south in the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields.

3. In order to settle the question of the country's reunifica-

tion in conformity with the will and demand of our people, it is necessary to enable the masses of people of all strata in the north and the south to participate in the nation-wide patriotic work for national reunification. To that end, it is necessary to convene a great national congress composed of representatives of people of all walks of life and of political parties and social organizations in the north and the south.

4. What is of great significance in the speeding up of the country's reunification is institution of a north-south confederation under the title of a single State. It is essential to convene the great national congress and achieve national unity, and on that basis to institute the north-south confederation, leaving the two existing social systems in the north and the south as they are for the time being. The confederal State shall be named the Confederal Republic of Koryo.

5. Our country should be prevented from being permanently split into two Koreas as a result of freezing the national division, and the north and the south should also work together in the field of external activity. The north and the south should not enter the United Nations separately. If they want to join the United Nations before the reunification of the country they should do so as a single State under the name "the Confederal Republic of Koryo", at least after the confederation is set up.

This new programme is a truly patriotic, great national salvation programme reflecting the unanimous desire and will of the entire nation to prevent the perpetual division of the country and to achieve the reunification and unity of the nation.

It is a reasonable programme acceptable to everyone as the most realistic proposal which fully conforms with the trend of present times toward peace and independence. The programme accords not only with the interests of the Korean people but also with the interests of world peace. It constitutes a great contribution not only to establishment of a durable peace in Korea but also to the defence of peace in Asia. Therefore this five-point programme of national reunification enjoys the absolute support of and has been welcomed by not only the entire Korean people but also the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world.

The Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algiers in early September last unanimously adopted a resolution on the Korean question in active support of the just struggle of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people to reunify the country inde-

pendently and peacefully without interference from any outside forces.

The resolution reads as follows:

“The Summit Conference

“1. Calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea and an end to foreign interference in all its forms in the domestic affairs of Korea;

“2. Further calls on the United Nations General Assembly, at its twenty-eighth session, to consider the question of Korea and to decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and on the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea;

“3. Declares that Korean membership in the United Nations can only be achieved in the name of a single State, after the complete reunification of the country or after the establishment of a confederation of North and South.”

That resolution of the Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States constitutes a great inspiration to our people fighting to accomplish their just cause, as a reflection of the unanimous will and demand of the entire Korean people and the progressive peoples of the world for the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea.

The joint draft resolution proposed by the delegations of 35 countries, including Algeria, accords with the resolution of the Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States.

A moment ago, the delegation of Algeria made a fervent and fine statement expressing its support for the just struggle of the Korean people for the independence and peaceful reunification of our fatherland. We were deeply moved, and we express our thanks.

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea expresses its sincere hope that the current session of the United Nations General Assembly will take fair and reasonable steps to dissolve the “United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea”, to strip the foreign troops stationed in South Korea of their “United Nations Forces” helmets and have them withdraw, thus making an epochal contribution to the acceleration of the reunification of Korea and maintenance of a durable peace in Asia, marking a new page in the history of the United Nations.

At this forum we wish to express the hope that the South Korean delegation present here will not seek division, but will strive to recover unity as a single nation and one State; will not depend on outside forces, but will take a stand of national independence; will not take the road of war and arms race, but will take the road of peaceful solution; and we call upon it to make joint efforts for national unity, rejecting confrontation, and to promote collaboration in the economic and cultural fields, as we solemnly pledged to do in the North-South Joint Statement.

To this end, the South Korean authorities should show their sincerity to reorganize the North-South Co-ordination Commission as soon as possible to normalize the dialogue.

We shall in the future too, as in the past, show all sincerity and make all our efforts to ensure a successful dialogue between the North and the South with a view to promoting the cause of national reunification which is the supreme task of the nation.

We should like to stress the following again with the sentiments of our compatriotism to the entire South Korean people, to the political parties and social organizations and to the South Korean authorities: let us not take the internal affairs of the nation out of our country, but let us sit around a table inside our country and negotiate with open hearts to settle problems as we are a single nation that cannot live separated in any case.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on the basis of its independent, peace-loving foreign policy, has always fought against imperialism, colonialism and racism and for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress in unity with all peace-loving peoples of the world and has rendered active support and encouragement to the just struggle of the peoples of all countries against imperialism and colonialism.

We shall continue to develop the relations of friendship and co-operation with all countries of the world that approach our country with goodwill and that wish to establish good relations with us, on the principles of complete equality, independence, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

We are convinced that, in the future, too, our cause of national reunification will receive ever-greater support and encouragement of all peace-loving countries and peoples across the world.

**APPENDIX—DATA ON THE REINFORCEMENT
OF MILITARY STRENGTH AND WAR PREPARATIONS
IN SOUTH KOREA AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT
OF THE NORTH-SOUTH JOINT STATEMENT**

The United States has openly egged the south Korean authorities onto confrontation by strength.

A spokesman of the U.S. State Department held a press conference on July 5, 1972, the very day following the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, and announced that the United States "will continue to help modernize the ROK army and will not withdraw its troops" even if the dialogue may start between the north and south, and this alone will enable the south Korean authorities to negotiate with confidence from the position of strength in their contacts with north Korea." (*Washington, July 5, 1972, AP*)

Green, U.S. Assistant Under Secretary of State for Far East Affairs, openly declared on July 11, 1972: "The United States will continue to give military and economic aid to south Korea to enable it to negotiate with north Korea with necessary confidence." (*July 11, 1972, AP*)

On March 28, 1973, Richardson, former U.S. Secretary of Defence clamoured in his annual report to the Congress that the U.S. support and continued military presence in south Korea made "a contribution to creating the circumstances which enabled south Korea to negotiate with north Korea from the position of strength" and that "the presence of the U.S. troops in south Korea is inevitable as ever" in the future. (*Washington, March 28, 1973, AFP*)

Military "aid" given by the United States to south Korea.

The United States has provided south Korea with military "aid" worth 800 million dollars from the publication of the North-South Joint Statement on July 4, 1972 to the present.

On May 8, 1973, Richardson, former U.S. Secretary of De-

fence and Moorer, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, disclosed in the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that the United States had allocated 238.8 million dollars as "military aid" to south Korea in the fiscal year of 1974. (*May 8, 1973, AP*)

It was reported that the United States would continue to give south Korea "free military aid" worth 1,500 million dollars envisaged for the period of the "5-year plan for the modernization of the ROK army." (*Seoul, March 8, 1973, south Korean news agency "Tonghwa"*)

Increased military expenditure in south Korea.

In the south Korean state budget for 1973, 185,400 million won was allocated for military expenditures, an increase by 14,300 million won than that of 1972.

Reinforcement of military forces.

The United States has continued to supply the south Korean army with latest weapons and military equipment of various types in accordance with the plan for modernization of the ROK army."

Some of the representative examples are as follows;

On July 5, 1972, the United States delivered a destroyer "DD-805" to south Korea. (*August 26, 1972, south Korean "Radio Chungang"*)

In November, 1972, the United States handed over to south Korea a battalion of "F-4 Phantom" fighter-bombers. (*November 11, 1972, south Korean news agency "Tonghwa"*)

The United States decided to introduce into south Korea tens of amphibious tanks to activate a new unit between November, 1972 and the beginning of 1973. (*October 15, 1972, south Korean news agency "Hapdong"*)

In 1972, the United States and the south Korean authorities signed the "appendix of the agreement on research and development of military equipment and on exchange of materials between the Republic of Korea and the United States."

According to it, the United States was to give "active assist-

ance to south Korea for its defence industry" and to provide it with documents of technical know-how for shells, vehicles, armoured cars, radars, rockets, etc. designed for the rifles and guns of various kinds possessed by the south Korean army today. (October 16, 1972, south Korean "Radio Tongyang")

On December 27, 1972, the United States delivered to south Korea destroyers that would form the "main force" of the south Korean fleet. (December 28, 1972, south Korean "Radio Tongyang")

On August 11, 1972, the United States carried out a test flight of a new type of jet fighter "F-5-E" manufactured for delivery to south Korea and stepped up their production. (August 11, 1972, UPI, and south Korean news agency "Tongyang")

In July, 1972, the south Korean authorities placed an order for over 20 high-speed boats equipped with ship-to-ship missiles from the United States. (San Diego, July 7, 1972, AP)

Of late, the United States has transferred its tactical air force stationed in Japan to south Korea.

Ryan, Chief of the General Staff of the U.S. air force, in his testimony at the secret hearing in the U.S. House Appropriations Committee, said that "all the U.S. tactical air force in Japan is being transferred to south Korea as it is necessary to deploy the air force in south Korea." (Seoul, August 16, 1973, south Korean "Radio Christian")

The United States has transferred to south Korea latest heavy weapons and military equipment of various types which were mobilized to its Viet Nam war of aggression as its troops withdrew from Viet Nam. (Report of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee)

The United States is transferring to Japan its air force units pulled out from Thailand. The reinforcement of the U.S. armed forces in Japan is aimed at Korea.

On August 1, 1973, Japanese Foreign Minister Ohira said in Washington that "Japan's recognition of the maintenance of U.S. military bases in Japan under the U.S.-Japan Security Pact constitutes a great military contribution to south Korea." (Tokyo, August 3, 1973, AFP)

Various military exercises.

The United States and the south Korean authorities have been aggravating tension by raising war clamours almost every day even after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement.

The representative examples are as follows;

For several days from July 5, 1972, the day following the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, the U.S. army command mobilized the south Korean army units in the area of the central sector of the front and conducted such military exercises as engineer exercise, mountain warfare, guerrilla warfare, search and ambush operations, the "largest of their kinds since the Armistice." (*July 5, 1972, south Korean "Radio Chungang"*)

From October 25 to 27, 1972, the south Korean army conducted an exercise of landing operation called "Operation Golden Dragon III" along the east coastal areas under the support of fighter bombers of the air force and bombardments from warships of the navy force under the command and supervision of the commander-in-chief of the U.S. navy force and high officers of the U.S. army stationed in south Korea. (*October 25, 1972, south Korean news agency "Hapdong"*)

On January 9, 1973, a "large-scale winter mobile exercise" was conducted, mobilizing a number of special units in the central area of south Korea.

The south Korean authorities said: "It is first time to have such large-scale military exercise since the North-South Joint Statement was published." (*January 9, 1973, Japanese news agency "Jiji"*)

During the period from October 2 to 13, 1973, the United States mobilized the 31st Field Artillery Corps of the U.S. army occupying south Korea to conduct a "guided missile firing exercise," while conducting, on the other hand, a "ship-to-ship firing exercise" by whipping out the south Korean army along the east coast. (*January 30, 1973, south Korean "Radio Pusan" and February, 1973, the U.S. army news paper "Stars and Stripes"*)

In February, 1973, the armoured units of the U.S. Second Army Division stationed in south Korea staged a large-scale

“exercise of joint operation”, mobilizing numerous tanks, armoured vehicles and military aircraft and, in the northern part of Seoul, they carried out an “air borne mobile operation exercise” of airlifting the U.S. ground units to the site for “dash” after strafing it with “F-4” jet fighter planes. (*February, 1973, the U.S. army paper “Stars and Stripes”*)

In mid-July, 1973, the U.S. troops conducted a large-scale “air mobile exercise” called “Apathy Assault II” on Height 150, only 2 miles south of the demilitarized zone in the western sector of the front.

This war exercise reminded people of actual fight to the extent of making “village folk think a war has broken out again in Korea.” (*July 17, 1973, the U.S. army paper “Stars and Stripes”*)

From August 18 to 22, 1973, the officers and men of the U.S. Second Division and the south Korean army conducted “all sorts of education drill” necessary for launching operation. (*Seoul, September 5, 1973, south Korean “Radio Christian”*)

Military provocations against the northern half of the Republic.

Cases of military provocations and all forms of violations of the Armistice Agreement committed by them in 14 months till September 3, 1973 after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement on July 4, 1972, numbered over 18,000—82 cases of aircraft infiltrations, 8 cases of ship infiltrations, 246 cases of firing shells and bullets, and 5,562 cases of introduction of different types of heavy and automatic weapons into the demilitarized zone.

Some of the representative examples are as follows;

On March 7, 1973, south Korean troops intruded into the area of the northern half of the Republic in the eastern sector of the front to perpetrate espionage and hostile acts while committing the armed provocation of firing smoke shells and thousands of shells and bullets from 105 mm guns and other heavy weapons under the cover of aircraft for 5 hours.

On January 17, 1973, the U.S. side sent two “F-4” fighter bombers to our territorial air over Ryongmae-do island of the northern half of the Republic.

After the publication of the North-South Joint Statement,

the U.S. side sent reconnaissance planes from their base in Okinawa to fly over repeatedly across the military demarcation line between East and West Sea to commit hostile espionage activities.

Sending spies into the areas of the northern half of the Republic.

In 1971 alone, the United States and south Korean authorities dispatched 330 spies to the northern half of the Republic on over 80 occasions.

In the period between May 1973 and July 1973, secret agents were sent to our areas 8 times.

Below is one of the examples:

On June 5, 1973, 5 spies (Yon Tae Chol, O Hyon Mo, Kim Hak Eul and others) belonging to the south Korean Intelligence Agency were caught red-handed after infiltrating into a village of South Hwanghae Province by crossing a reed field in an attempt to spy out military installations and murder and kidnap cadres.

Acts of creating war atmosphere in south Korea.

On July 15, 1972, "civilian anti-air-raid drills" were conducted simultaneously in 32 cities of south Korea. On August 16, eight million citizens were mobilized in the "anti-air-raid drills" in 33 cities, with "imaginary enemy planes flying over the cities". (*Seoul, August 16, 1972, south Korean news agency "Hapdong"*)

Such large-scale "anti-air-raid drills" were conducted on 12 occasions in 1972 alone.

They conducted such "civilian anti-air-raid drills" 5 times in 1973.

On September 15, 1973, the "21st civilian anti-air-raid drills" were conducted simultaneously in 35 cities including 21 ports and in 121 county seats throughout south Korea. It was reported that the "civilian anti-air-raid drills" concentrically examined for the first time the shelter conditions of people from the enemy planes' surprise attack by giving a sudden air raid alarm throughout the country". (*Seoul, September 15, 1973, south Korean news agency "Hapdong"*)

SPEECH MADE ON NOVEMBER 21

In the last few days, during the discussion of the question on Korea in the First Committee, the representatives of various countries of the world have expressed warm congratulations and words of welcome to the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on his participation in the meetings of this Committee.

They have made a high appraisal of the consistent line of the Government of the DPRK for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, including the five-point programme of national reunification clarified by the respected and beloved leader of our people, President Kim Il Sung, and expressed firm solidarity for it.

Our delegation is deeply moved by this.

We have felt deeply in our hearts that we are among numerous friends of the world and that the just cause of our people, the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, enjoys the absolute support and encouragement of the peace-loving peoples of the world.

The delegation of the DPRK avails itself of this opportunity to express its heartfelt thanks to the representatives of various countries who have undertaken positive activities as sponsors of the draft resolution supporting the just position of the Government of the DPRK for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and to the representatives of all the countries that have made excellent statements, thereby showing friendship towards us in the First Committee at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

At the same time I express my deep thanks to the Chairman for extending to us active assistance in our work.

The whole process of the discussion of the question on Korea has once again glaringly shown two different positions and two different lines on this question. They stand out in contrast.

The delegation of the DPRK and the representatives of the socialist countries and the third-world countries supporting the DPRK have strongly demanded that the foreign troops should get out of South Korea. But the representatives of the United States and the countries that follow it have openly asserted that the foreign troops should remain in South Korea.

We have demanded one Korea, but they have demanded two Koreas; we have demanded reunification, but they have demanded separation.

We have demanded independence, but they have cried for intervention and dependence; we have stood in a position of loving the country and loving the nation, but they have stood in the position of selling the country and betraying the nation.

We have maintained the position of keeping the peace, but they have taken a position of instigating confrontation and antagonism.

Ours is an era of historical changes in which every country and every nation of the world is following the road of liberation and independence, grasping their destiny in their own hands.

Our demand for reunification, independence, patriotism and peace fully conforms with that basic trend of our times.

But the demand of the other side, which stands for separation, dependence, treason and confrontation, is against the current of the times. It is no more than a desperate attempt at trying to maintain by hook or by crook the outdated policy of intervention which has gone bankrupt.

Today the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly has unanimously adopted a decision on the immediate dissolution of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", after expressing satisfaction at the Joint North-South Statement of 4 July 1972 and its hope that dialogue and many-sided exchanges will be promoted between the North and the South in the spirit of that Joint Statement.

It is indeed of great significance that the United Nations has discussed the question on Korea and adopted that decision in the presence of the representative of the DPRK after 26 years of involvement in the Korean question.

This is a brilliant fruition of the joint efforts made by the entire Korean people and the peace-loving countries of the world for a long period to eliminate the interference of the outside forces in the internal affairs of Korea and a victory won in the consistent struggle of the Government of the DPRK and the entire Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The dissolution of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" means a defeat for those forces that have been hampering the independence and peaceful reunification of Korea and talking about an "election

under United Nations supervision", which are going bankrupt beyond retrieve.

The dissolution of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" has also proved more clearly that there is no ground or reason whatsoever for the foreign troops under the signboard of the "United Nations Forces" to stay on in South Korea any longer.

Furthermore, the attempt to bring about entry of two Koreas into the United Nations was rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations.

The dissolution of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" again demonstrated with authority that no force on earth can check the powerful current of our times towards independence and self-sustenance against imperialism and colonialism.

The fact that the Joint Statement of 4 July 1972 was welcomed in the decision adopted today by the First Committee is public acknowledgement before the peoples of the whole world of the correctness of the three principles contained in the Joint Statement.

It is very good that all the participants in the United Nations General Assembly expressed full support for and approval of the correctness of the principles of the Joint Statement and it is conducive to the realization of the peaceful reunification of our country.

The Government of the DPRK, with the active support and encouragement of the peace-loving peoples of the whole world, will wage a resolute struggle towards the end of making all the foreign troops under the signboard of the "United Nations Forces" withdraw from South Korea and to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country without any interference from outside forces.

No one can shake the steel-strong will of our people, who are determined to build their own destiny with their own efforts, and no force can reverse the powerful current of the Korean nation marching towards national unity and reunification.

We are firmly convinced that the day will soon come when the tragedy of national division will be terminated and our posterity may take over the unified fatherland and the whole nation may live a new, happy life in its prosperous fatherland.



ABDELLATIF RAHAL

Algeria

No one could have any doubt about the importance of the question which is under discussion here in the First Committee this morning or of the true importance of the essence of this question. The controversies raised by the problem of Korea for a quarter century have certainly brought into conflict contradictory concepts of the role of the United Nations; but they have had the merit of throwing into relief the conduct of its Members and of making it possible, with the perspective afforded by the passage of time, to pass an impartial but stern judgement of the decisions whereby the United Nations found itself involved in Korea.

The development of the situation in Korea is closely linked with the very history of our Organization, all of whose activities it has almost constantly dominated. The responsibilities of our Organization in this problem are immense and they must be raised today particularly, not solely in order to determine its future attitude on Korea, but also and above all to undertake a critical examination of the way in which its responsibilities were assumed. No one should entertain any doubt whatsoever that our debate on Korea cannot be limited simply to the elements of the problem itself but that our debate must also be focused on the actions of the United Nations, the objectives it has set itself and, in the final analysis, its real capacity to fulfil its original mission, that of maintaining peace in the world.

We all know that the division of Korea was, above all, the result of the cold war and that the American presence in South Korea, which dates from the end of the Second World War, stemmed from the objectives of United States strategy which found in Korea "an ideal battlefield which could be decisive for all American successes in Asia" — to quote the words used by President Truman in 1946. The United Nations was misused

by the United States to cover up its military intervention and to perpetuate the division of the territory, which provided such a convenient opportunity for it to fulfil its ambitions. The United Nations was therefore a mere instrument of the aggressive policy of the United States at a time when, by reason of its composition, it was dominated by American influence. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that while the Korean question was brought to the United Nations by the United States itself, the United States which regularly each year called for the holding of a debate on this item, it was the United States delegation which opposed such a debate at the last two sessions. This change of attitude, in spite of the arguments — which may or may not be acceptable in varying degrees — which were put forward results from the obvious fact that the United Nations could no longer resign itself to following docilely in the wake of the United States. Thus the United Nations did not take up the problem of Korea because it constituted a threat to international peace but in order to serve the strategic objectives of the United States, whose military intervention in Korea preceded, in any case, any decision of the Security Council.

Today the United Nations is involved in this problem. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was set up and continues to function. A United Nations Military High Command was set up in South Korea and American troops in South Korea are operating under the United Nations flag.

This many-faceted presence of the United Nations in Korea and the responsibilities stemming therefrom involve all Member States and it is our duty, even more than it is our right, to discuss the justification for this and to determine its limits. The, to put it mildly, suspect conditions in which those decisions were taken make it imperative for us today to undertake an examination of them. Furthermore, we would stress that almost two thirds of the present Members of the Organization, which at that time were outside the framework of the work of the United Nations because for the most part they had not yet achieved independence, cannot confine themselves to underwriting decisions whose validity they challenge and whose orientation they condemn.

We may be told that we should bear in mind the international climate of the period of the cold war in order to understand the conduct of the United Nations, and it is in the context of the balance of forces at that time and the division of the

world into blocs that we should place these discussions and resolutions of the United Nations. Certainly we cannot dissociate these attitudes from their historic environment and from the particular context in which they evolved; but today, now that the international context has changed, the super-Powers have renounced confrontation and a trend towards détente has emerged in the world, should we still tolerate the consequences of decisions which owe more to the will of the United States to exercise supremacy than to a sincere desire to ensure peace in the world? And, at a time when the great Powers are proclaiming the virtues of détente and international co-operation, should the United Nations continue to play the role of an instrument of the cold war, a role which it assumed by becoming involved in the Korean affair?

The normalization of international relations and the establishment of lasting peace in the world make it imperative, first, to reunify a country which has always constituted an inseparable entity and whose division was imposed by circumstances outside the will of the Korean people — and we know what that will is. Whether they be from the North or from the South, all Koreans want their country to be unified and to participate together in its development and its options. The situation created over the last 30 years has entailed many difficulties which will have to be smoothed out so that the whole of the country can recover a climate of confidence which will promote a return to unity. But all these problems are a matter for the Korean people themselves, who must freely seek solutions to these problems and, in complete independence, lay down the bases for their future life. No one has the right to replace the Korean people in determining its options and expressing its preferences. That is why, in our view, it is not for us a matter of discussing its internal problems. And in this respect we are happy that the Korean people is represented here at this debate. I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome particularly the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which, after having been arbitrarily kept outside our debates up to now, can now associate itself with our discussions and be the most authentic and most highly authorized interpreter of the feelings of the Korean people. The representatives of Korea better than anyone else can set forth the aspirations of their people and tell us what they expect from the United Nations in helping them to overcome the obstacles to the reunification of their country and to remedy a situation which was

imposed upon them and of which they alone are the victims. By inviting them to participate in our debate, our Organization has repaired a wrong and registered a success which we welcome as a first victory of reason and justice and as a positive gesture from which the United Nations itself will be the first to benefit.

If we leave it up to the representatives of Korea to speak on behalf of the people of Korea, our statement in this debate should then be devoted to the role that the United Nations has played in the past and the one it will have to play in order to achieve a settlement of the Korean problem. We have already said what we thought of the conditions that accompanied the involvement of the United Nations in Korea. The decisions taken on this are not arguable solely because of the irregularity of the procedures involved; they are even more challengeable in the light of the results to which they led over 25 years. One would have to be naive to think for a single moment that the presence of the United Nations in Korea succeeded in ending a conflict, or that it was able to prevent the outbreak of a new war. From this point of view, it is quite clear that it confined itself to sanctioning the American intervention and allowing itself to be used as a cover for the presence of American troops in South Korea. Nor do we believe that this presence has really done anything to facilitate the reunification of Korea. If contacts were finally established between the leaders of the North and the South, if discussions have begun between them and if a certain *détente* has emerged in the region, we do not find it easy to credit the United Nations with these developments, although, indeed, we have every desire in the world to see it winning the laurels that it should win in its task.

To realize this, it suffices to read the report of the famous United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. What place is there in this report for the action of the Commission itself? If it assures us that it

“...has taken every opportunity to cultivate an atmosphere of peace and reconciliation between North and South Korea”, (A/9027, p. 25, para. 102)

these opportunities must have been extremely rare if indeed they existed at all, since they are not mentioned in the report. And this Commission has existed for over twenty years; it has been financed out of the United Nations budget, that is to say, by each of our countries, to maintain what is in the final analysis a dangerous fiction. It will be easy to understand how en-

thusiastically we endorse the findings of the members of the Commission when they

“...express their considered judgement that the presence in Korea of UNCURK is no longer required and they accordingly recommend that UNCURK should be dissolved.” (Ibid., para. 106)

It is never too late to be converted to realities, but I have no doubt that it would have been in the interest of all, and in the interest of Korea itself, for this truth to have been discovered rather earlier, and for a rather more attentive ear to have been lent to what we have ceaselessly proclaimed.

But this is not the only myth which should be ended. There are unfortunately others that still haunt our Organization and that have certainly done much to discredit it. What about the myth which provides the cover of the United Nations flag for the troops stationed in South Korea? What about the myth of the presence there of the United Nations High Military Command? I speak of myths, because no one can possibly have any illusions about the real nature of these arrangements. It is no secret that the only foreign troops in Korea are American troops and that, in spite of the presence of its flag and of its High Command, the United Nations has no authority or control over these troops. The members of the Organization cannot go on tolerating indefinitely and lending themselves to such a masquerade, thus becoming accomplices of the policy of hegemony of the United States of America. It is time for the Organization to return to its true nature and emerge at last in the eyes of the world as the authentic expression of the will to peace of its Members, and not as the accomplice of an imperialism that does not even have the courage to act openly. It is time to forbid the American troops in Korea to use the United Nations flag and it is time to dissolve the United Nations Military High Command in Korea.

But, we are told, this United Nations Command is a signatory of the armistice agreement of 1953 and for that reason should continue to exist. First, the United Nations Command was not acting as such when it signed the armistice agreement, but on behalf of the United Nations, which, itself, is a party to that agreement. Abolition of the Command would not remove a party to the armistice agreement because it would not abolish the United Nations. Furthermore, and still within the context of the legalities, being one of the parties to the armistice agreement, the United Nations is not bound to ensure its pres-

ence in Korea in the form of a military command. However, if instead of clinging to narrow legalism we consider the facts themselves, we have to realize that it is not the establishment in Korea of the United Nations Command which can really ensure lasting peace in that region. That lasting peace can be based only on the will of the two parts of Korea to renounce the use of force, to reduce their military forces and their arms and to negotiate a peace treaty. These proposals are precisely the ones made on several occasions by North Korea. But they have not been accepted by the Seoul authorities which, certainly, seem to find advantage in the maintenance on their territory of American troops under the United Nations flag. The arguments put forward by the Seoul authorities to convince the Organization that it should maintain a presence which is so well calculated to serve its interests are not arguments that we can accept. If, by withdrawing its High Command from South Korea, the United Nations were to succeed in persuading the leaders of South Korea along with the leaders of the North to seek ways of establishing lasting peace in the region, it would be serving in the most effective way the very cause of the peaceful reunification of Korea. However, evidence to the contrary is conclusive, since the maintenance for 25 years of this Military Command has done hardly anything to contribute to progress towards rapprochement between the two parts of Korea. We therefore feel that in proposing the dissolution of this Command, we would be putting an end to an ambiguity which does a disservice to the Organization and we would be creating true conditions for better understanding between the leaders of the North and of the South.

When the United Nations has forbidden the use of its flag and dissolved its Military Command in South Korea, the Korean problem will become at once clearer and simpler. If the United States is still to keep its troops there, those troops will at least appear in the light of their true nationality and the presence of those troops in South Korea will reveal its true significance about which, in any case, no one should have any illusions. It will be difficult for the United States to convince us that the stationing of its troops there has the purpose of protecting South Korea against so-called aggressive intentions from the North, because we know the volume of armaments provided by the Americans to Seoul and we know the military strength of South Korea. On the subject of this military strength, which is said to have achieved the figure of 700,000 men, what additional rein-

forcement can be represented by 40,000 American troops? In order to understand Washington's true intentions I think reference should be made once again to the statement by President Truman which I quoted at the beginning of my statement and which places Korea in the very centre of a much broader strategy in the pursuit of vastly more ambitious aims. But what was valid in 1946 and even 20 years later cannot be valid today. To our knowledge, the United States has in recent years engaged in a policy of rapprochement with the People's Republic of China; it is no longer pursuing a policy of encircling the territory of the People's Republic of China; it has established with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics peaceful coexistence and wants to work for the establishment of an era of détente in the world. Why then does it still maintain in Korea and elsewhere in Asia military bases which are at variance with its declared aims of détente and peace? When we call for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea it is clear that we are putting to the test the sincerity of American policy in favour of international détente. It is also clear that we want to remove one of the major obstacles to progress towards the peaceful reunification of Korea, something which should be brought about without foreign interference and without the undeniable threat constituted by the presence of American troops in the South.

This year many delegations have expressed their pleasure at the increasingly universal nature of our Organization after the admission of new Members at this session. Naturally, we welcome that development. It is something we have long wished for, something we have ceaselessly striven to attain. But today, on the pretext of expanding that universality even further, there is being put forward the idea of simultaneously admitting to the United Nations the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea.

That proposal seems harmless enough at first sight, and furthermore it seems to be based on the best intentions in the world. But we should give this matter serious thought, because those who are now crying for authentic representation in the Organization have not always been so enamoured of that idea, and it was not so long ago that for years they resorted to every possible procedural ploy and exerted all the weight of their influence to deprive of its representation in the United Nations a people numbering 700 million — the people of the People's Republic of China.

That is something we should ponder, because all members of the Assembly will recall that the United Nations has in the past already been faced with proposals for separate membership for the two Koreas. It was at the height of the cold war, at a time when the conflict between the North and the South was at its height. The admission of the two Koreas was then viewed as providing new scope for the development of the struggle between the two parts and, in a wider context, between the two blocs. Although the present international context is not the same, there is nothing to show that the presence in the United Nations of two separate and still rival delegations would be favourable to the settlement of their differences and to a rapprochement between the two sides. Quite the contrary: that would serve to make somewhat more permanent the division of Korea and would introduce among the Members of the Organization an additional division deriving from the need to choose between the positions of the two sides and favour the stand of one side and oppose that of the other. In endorsing the proposal before us to that effect, the United Nations would be involved in prolonging the Korean conflict and reducing the positive role it can still play in helping to solve that problem.

It is by looking about them. The realities of Korea are well known, and we have just gone into certain aspects of the matter. It is these difficulties that we should try to overcome, and with regard to the United Nations itself we have made concrete proposals which focus directly on the obstacles we have mentioned. The proposal for the admission of two Koreas to the United Nations is in fact nothing but one more attempt to disregard fundamental problems and to channel the efforts of the United Nations in secondary directions which would leave intact the present situation and would certainly do nothing whatsoever to reduce their seriousness, and still less to bring about a settlement.

But if we study carefully the proposals made by the United States and some of its friends in Western Europe, we shall find that in the end they boil down to calling for maintenance of the present situation. The only effort of imagination that can be detected therein is the hope which is expressed that the two Koreas will become Members of the United Nations. We believe the United Nations can do better, particularly in a problem that has existed for so long and has a direct bearing on its own responsibilities.

The Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algiers at the beginning of last September called upon the Organization not to shirk its obligations but to rid itself of the remaining vestiges of the cold war. In a resolution on Korea, it called upon the General Assembly of the United Nations, at its twenty-eighth session,

“to consider the question of Korea, and to decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and on the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea;” (Political Declaration of the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, resolution 11)

It declared:

“that Korean membership in the United Nations can only be achieved in the name of a single State, after the complete reunification of the country or after the establishment of a confederation of North and South.” (Ibid.)

Those non-aligned countries are, with very few exceptions, all countries that were not yet Members of the United Nations when the Organization became involved in Korea. They are the countries which undertook tireless efforts to put an end to the cold-war period and to see to it that the confrontation between the great Powers did not degenerate into a world war. It is precisely those countries which today want the *détente* that has emerged in relations among the great Powers to extend also to the whole of the third world and to be a factor in relations between the great Powers and the small Powers.

These are the countries that want the United Nations to recover its prestige and its authority as well as its faithfulness to the principles for which it was founded. It is for that reason that we have come here today to call upon the United Nations to throw off the remnants of the past which may still cling to it, so that it may become aware of its influence and its effectiveness, which has been so long compromised by its submissiveness to the will of a block. We want the Organization to realize that all these virtues can be manifested only if the Organization places itself above everything in order the better to serve everything and to keep the promises which it implicitly gave to the peoples of the world — to guarantee humanity a future of peace and understanding.

The present international situation has already made it

possible for the United Nations to recover some of its prestige and to appear once again in the role of the pre-eminent instrument for the maintenance and strengthening of world peace. The problem of Korea can also contribute to the consolidation of this rehabilitation of the Organization if we are able to recognize the weaknesses of the past, release ourselves from the stranglehold which they impose on us, and confront with courage and clarity the problems with which we are faced in their profound truth and with the sincere will to reach a just and lasting solution of them.

HUANG HUA

China

First of all, the Chinese delegation would like to express its warmest welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that is attending the discussions of the Korean question at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. After surmounting numerous obstacles, the United Nations has for the first time formally invited the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to take part in the debate on the Korean question. This is a victory for the Korean people as well as for the people of all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries.

Since ancient times, the Korean people have been a single nation with the same language and culture, living on the same soil, and the 3,000-ri beautiful land of the Korean peninsula was originally one unified country. However, after the Second World War, Korea was artificially divided as a result of United States imperialist aggression and intervention. In the past 28 years the Korean people have suffered a great deal from the division of their fatherland. It is the strong desire of the entire Korean people to realize the peaceful reunification of the fatherland at an early date. Over a long period the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made unremitting efforts for the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and has put forward a series of positive views and proposals.

In May 1972, President Kim Il Sung put forward the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, which led to the issuance of the North-South Joint Statement in July of the same year, and thus opened the door for contacts between the North and the South and a new prospect for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. On 23 June this year, President Kim Il Sung further put forward the



five propositions on the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland, namely: to remove the state of military confrontation and ease tension between the North and the South; to realize many-sided collaboration and interchange in all the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields; to convene a great national assembly composed of representatives of people of all strata, political parties and social organizations both in the North and the South to resolve through consultation the question of reunification of the country; to institute a North-South confederation under a single name of the State; and the North and the South should advance jointly in the field of foreign relations and should not enter the United Nations separately. President Kim Il Sung also stressed that the United States troops should be withdrawn from South Korea at the earliest possible date and the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" should be dissolved.

All this has reflected the common aspiration of the entire Korean people, has pointed to the correct way for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and has been warmly welcomed by the entire Korean people as well as all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world. The Chinese Government and people firmly support these righteous propositions and reasonable demands of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

As is known to all, it was precisely because of the support and connivance of the United States that the South Korean authorities have dared to reject and oppose the series of reasonable proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, thus raising serious obstacles for the dialogue between the North and the South. Furthermore, the South Korean authorities have stepped up their arms expansion and made clamours about "reunification by prevailing over Communism" and "a test of strength". They have intensified their fascist rule in South Korea and their repression of those patriotic personages and mass movements that desire the reunification of the country. The South Korean authorities have stubbornly obstructed and sabotaged the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

With United States support, they openly propagated the creation of "two Koreas" in an attempt to legalize, solidify and perpetuate the division of Korea. This runs diametrically counter to the principle agreed upon by the North and South of Korea, that is: "great national unity as one nation should be promoted first of all, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal

and social system". Such an attempt is utterly unacceptable to the entire Korean people.

Some people argue that since the two Germanys could be admitted into the United Nations, why cannot the North and South of Korea join the United Nations simultaneously? Everyone knows that the two Germanys were the outcome of the Second World War. Both recognize the reality that there exist two German States, and both agree to enter the United Nations separately. But the present division of Korea was simply imposed on the Korean people as a result of United States aggression and intervention after the Second World War.

To restore the unification of the country is the universal demand of the entire Korean people, as well as the principle confirmed in the Joint Statement between the North and South of Korea. Hence the question of Germany is totally different from that of Korea and the two must not be mentioned in the same breath. The absurd proposal aimed at forcing the North and the South of Korea to join the United Nations under the pretext of the admission of two Germanys into the United Nations is, of course, totally untenable.

President Kim Il Sung said last June that the North and the South of Korea should not enter the United Nations separately and that if they wanted to enter the United Nations before the reunification of the country was achieved, they should enter it as one State, at least under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo, after the confederation was enforced. This is perfectly reasonable and deserves the sympathy and support of all justice-upholding countries. The United Nations General Assembly should also respect this just position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. No one, whether the United States or any other countries can ever succeed in their scheme to create "two Koreas".

It must be pointed out that in the past two decades and more, the United Nations has played a dishonourable role on the Korean question, and has served the United States policy of intervention and aggression in Korea. The armed aggression against Korea in 1950 was carried out under the flag of the United Nations. To date, foreign forces are still using the name of the United Nations for continued interference in the internal affairs of Korea. The so-called "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" has been illegal from its very inception. It is a tool of outside forces for inter-

vention in Korea. Over a long period, it has kept on vilifying and slandering the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In the so-called annual report of this year, it has again made unwarranted attacks on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and even absurdly proposed that the United Nations "...maintain political oversight of the situation in the Korean Peninsula". (A/9027, para. 107) In other words, the United Nations is asked to continue its interference in the internal affairs of Korea. This certainly is intolerable. In fact, this illegal organization has long been discarded by history and should have long been dissolved unconditionally.

The so-called "United Nations Command" is an out-and-out tool for aggression. The United States troops, which have continued to station in South Korea under the flag of the "United Nations Command" have grossly interfered in the internal affairs of Korea; they are a stumbling block in the way of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and are the root cause of the exacerbation of tension in the Korean Peninsula.

The Korean people, as well as all the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and peoples throughout the world, strongly demand the complete withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the "United Nations Command". Full 20 years have passed since the armistice in Korea. Back in 1958, the Chinese People's Volunteers, who had fought shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army against aggression, unilaterally, unconditionally and completely withdrew from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

One may ask: what can justify the continued stationing of United States troops in South Korea? Some people assert that the withdrawal of foreign forces will make it impossible to maintain the stability of the situation in the Korean peninsula. This assertion is totally untenable. The maintenance of the stability of the situation in Korea should not depend on outside forces, still less on foreign troops, but only on the guarantee by the North and the South of Korea and the entire Korean people. The north and the south of Korea have agreed that they will refrain from committing armed provocations, big or small, and that they will take active measures for preventing incidents of unexpected military conflicts.

Is this not the best guarantee for the maintenance of the armistice and the stability of the situation in Korea? Others

argue that the "United Nations Forces" were dispatched in accordance with the resolution of the United Nations Security Council, and that, consequently, the question of troop withdrawal and the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" should be submitted to the Security Council for discussion. This is obviously an argument with ulterior motives.

As everyone knows, the so-called Security Council resolution of the past was completely illegal. To put it bluntly, the suggestion for resubmitting this question to the Security Council for its consideration is aimed at using the veto of a big Power to prolong the life of the "United Nations Command" indefinitely. Of course, we are firmly against it.

The Korean people are the masters of Korea. The question of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea can only be settled by the Korean people themselves, and no foreign countries or international organizations have the right to interfere. As a matter of course, the so-called "UNCURK" should be dissolved immediately; the so-called "United Nations Command" should be disbanded, and all foreign troops should be completely withdrawn from South Korea. An end must be put to the anachronism of interference by foreign forces in the internal affairs of Korea in the name of the United Nations, the military confrontation and tension between the North and the South of Korea must be eliminated, the peace in the Korean Peninsula must be safeguarded and strengthened, and the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea must be realized at an early date. It is our hope that the discussion of the Korean question at the current session of the General Assembly will help to promote the realization of these objectives.

The draft resolution on "Creation of Favourable Conditions to Accelerate the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea", co-sponsored by Algeria, China and other countries, is in accord with the genuine interests of the Korean people and the spirit of the United Nations Charter. We hope that this draft resolution will be given serious consideration by the General Assembly. The draft resolution on the Korean question submitted by the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan and other countries is not conducive to the settlement of the question of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, but will create a pretext for continued interference in the internal affairs of Korea by outside forces. The Chinese delegation is resolutely against it.

China and Korea are neighbours, as closely linked as the

lips and the teeth, and the Chinese and Korean peoples are comrades-in-arms and brothers bound by flesh and blood and sharing weal and woe. Whether in the past, at present or in the future, the Chinese people always stand together with the Korean people and fight together with them. The Korean people's cause is entirely just. We are convinced that the entire Korean people, with the firm support of the people of the whole world, will certainly overcome all difficulties and hardships on their road of advance, eliminate all outside aggression and intervention, and finally attain the noble goal of the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. Victory certainly belongs to the Korean people.

GUERO GROZEV

Bulgaria



I should like to begin by extending a hearty Bulgarian welcome to the representatives of the fraternal Democratic People's Republic of Korea who have now arrived among us and whose delegation is headed by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Li Jong Mok. The very fact that representatives of the free and independent Democratic People's Republic of Korea are seated in the United Nations with us is a major historical event. It is a major victory. It is a deserved acknowledgement of the peace-loving policy and sincere aspiration of the Government of this ancient and yet at the same time youthful socialist State towards peace, understanding and co-operation with other peoples towards peaceful unification of their artificially and unjustly divided homeland.

It is also a victory for the socialist and all other peace-loving peoples which for over 20 years now have struggled here in the United Nations and outside it for a just solution to the Korean question.

The granting of observer status and permission to participate in the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly afforded to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is further reaffirmation and proof of the major changes that have taken place both in the international arena and in our Organization. It is thanks to these changes that it has become possible for the United Nations General Assembly now to consider the Korean question, one of the most important items on the agenda of the twenty-eighth session.

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that now, for the first time, this Committee and the General Assembly have an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the views of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of South Korea through

the direct participation of their delegations in the actual discussion of the item.

It is perfectly natural that the discussion of this important problem should be taking place at this historical moment when the principles of peaceful coexistence are winning ever-wider recognition and are being imbued with practical significance and turned into universally recognized norms of international relations. We are considering the question of Korea at a time when the prospects for the maintenance and strengthening of peace throughout the world are becoming ever more realistic and more lasting, at a time when great changes are taking place in the world; and perhaps the first thing that one should mention is the change that has taken place in relations among States in Europe. Without any doubt that is having and will continue to have a substantial effect on the general trend towards the relaxation of tension, the strengthening of security and the peaceful settlement of international problems.

The end of the Viet-Nam war is a major historical act; that is not only a deserved victory for the heroic Viet-Nameese people but also a victory for all the forces of peace, a great success in the struggle against imperialist aggression. That and other facts and events illustrate in the most vivid fashion possible that solutions for the most acute international problems can be found. This is possible only if the policy of force is set aside and if political realism is displayed if there is respect for the legitimate and inalienable rights of the peoples themselves to determine their fate, to decide their problems in sovereignty and without interference from outside, to regulate freely and in accordance with their own interests all problems arising from or connected with the existence of their national States. All those are rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

History has repeatedly demonstrated that peace is indivisible. International détente cannot be the privilege of only some regions of the world. The task today is to turn the international détente which has been achieved in certain key areas of developing international relations into a lasting and durable phenomenon and, even more, to make it irreversible and a process that reaches to the very ends of the earth.

It is our hope that the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly will succeed in taking decisions on the question of Korea which will open broad prospects for the peaceful and independent unification of the Korean people and, at the same

time, constitute an important contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in the Far East.

We all had an opportunity this morning to hear the well argued and far-reaching statement by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We have available to us memoranda and other documents of the two parties; we also have two draft resolutions on this item before us for consideration. My delegation is a co-sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr. 1, which, we would like to believe, will receive the support of the overwhelming majority of our Committee and of the United Nations.

With so many documents and facts at our disposal, each one of us can and should now conscientiously and without prejudice set forth his views and make his contribution to a truly just solution of the question of Korea. This is all the more incumbent upon us because our Organization enjoys a far from enviable reputation with regard to the question of Korea. It is high time to remove the stain from the high and noble purposes and ideals for which the United Nations was created and has continued its struggle.

The standard of the United Nations is the standard of all its Members, of all the peoples that fight for freedom and independence, for peace and international security, and no one will ever be allowed to besmirch that flag or to use it for his own selfish purpose of oppressing other artificially divided brothers and sisters. For years we have had to listen to the most diverse, unconvincing attempts to justify the artificial division of Korea and to justify flagrant abuses of the name and the flag of the United Nations. Some are trying in vain to convince us that it is still necessary to maintain the status of this factual occupation of the country by foreign troops. I do not suppose that anyone will agree that that is really the wish of the people of Korea themselves.

The truth is that, being faithful to its peace-loving policy of principle, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has undertaken important political initiatives in recent years aimed exclusively at normalizing relations between the North and the South and at laying stable foundations for the country's peaceful unification. On the basis of the interests of the entire Korean people, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and its President, Comrade Kim Il Sung, personally have for the past 25 years pursued an unswerving course towards peaceful unification of the country.

For that purpose they have put forward numerous initiatives, guided by their concern to pave the way for the lasting settlement of the problem, which for their part is possible if only the main obstacle — interference from outside — can be removed.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has consistently and unswervingly put forward such proposals as the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea; a cutback in the armed forces of North and South Korea; the elimination of artificial obstacles to broad economic, political and cultural exchange; the holding of free general elections; the establishment of a confederation between North and South Korea. Those and a number of other proposals have met with a favourable reception and have found support among the entire Korean people, for they are in keeping with its crucial interests. They are completely in keeping with the United Nations Charter and the principle that international problems should be settled by peaceful means.

As we know, as a result of this whole-hearted support, talks began for the first time between the Red Cross Organizations of North and South Korea. Thanks to the correct political approach and to this realistic assessment of the situation, a major step forward was made. The two delegations adopted three basic principles of national unification. Those principles, which are contained in the Joint Statement of 4 July 1972, are in keeping with the most sacred aspirations of the Korean people. This document has once again borne out the correctness and farsightedness of the policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Imbued with an awareness of the great historical task that awaits the Korean people, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is conducting an uninterrupted struggle to give effect to the aforementioned proposals and principles. In 1973, with even greater political confidence, it put forward a more specific five-point programme touching upon all the vital problems on which the peaceful unification of Korea depends.

The first step towards the peaceful unification of Korea, as proposed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, is the elimination of the causes of armed confrontation, the carrying out of a multilateral exchange between North and South Korea and the ensuring of conditions for the participation of all sections of the population in the work of unification. On the way to unification the creation of a confederation is envisaged be-

tween North and South Korea under a single title, and the admission of Korea to the United Nations after unification or, if it is mutually desired, even before unification, but only as a confederation.

It is regrettable that these consistent peaceful proposals and initiatives on the part of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have not yet met with a corresponding response from the South Korean authorities. Furthermore, in a number of instances the South Korean leaders have unambiguously shown that they do not aspire to the unification of the Korean people and to a single peace-loving Korea, but rather are undertaking steps aimed at perpetuating the division of that beautiful country with its history of thousands of years.

A legitimate question arises: why do the South Korean authorities, after agreeing to the peaceful principles of unification, continue their negative policy? What are the real concealed reasons for this, and who stands behind this policy of the South Korean authorities?

First of all the main reason for the continuing division of Korea is the fact that the southern part of the Korean Peninsula continues for all practical purposes to be dependent on foreign troops. This factor is unquestionably having a key influence on the policy of the South Korean authorities who are continuing their course aimed at further disunity. Together with certain of their patrons, they are now even proposing the simultaneous admission to the United Nations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of South Korea. Such a policy has nothing in common with the interests of the Korean people. It is aimed at turning the southern part of the Peninsula into a protectorate of one foreign State, into a bridgehead for its military and other interests in that part of the world.

What, in our opinion, should be done? What should and could the United Nations do in order actively and effectively to foster a peaceful and just solution of the Korean question? Here I should like once again to emphasize that the United Nations bears a special responsibility for the difficulties that lie in the path of a just solution to the problem of Korea. Some of the decisions taken by our Organization at a time when it had less than half its present membership did much to impede the process of removing the artificial barriers between the two parts of Korea and the barriers to a peaceful, independent unification of the country.

First and foremost we should like to express support for

the recommendation in document A/9027 that the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea should be dissolved. That Commission, as the history of its existence has demonstrated, has never played any positive role in helping to solve the problem of Korea. In accordance with the powers entrusted to it, the Commission should have helped to bring about the unification and rehabilitation of Korea. Facts demonstrate, however, that it has never been able to do either of those things for the simple reason that it was established for purposes that have nothing in common with either the unification or the rehabilitation of the country. It is in no way strange, therefore, that the Commission itself has long been passing through a deep crisis. Some of its members, being aware of the harmfulness of the Commission's activities, have either left it or no longer take part in its work.

In deciding the question of the Commission's future, we must not forget the fact that it is a rather expensive organ of the United Nations. It is an additional item of expenditure in the budget of the Organization, which is already overburdened. The cost of maintaining it annually is equal to the annual contributions of over one third of the States Members of the United Nations whose contributions are on a small scale of assessment.

A second key measure that could be carried out by the United Nations would be to remove from the United States troops stationed in South Korea the right to use the United Nations flag and also to dissolve the so-called United Nations Command. We firmly believe that the present membership of the Organization cannot allow further use of the United Nations flag as a cover for a few tens of thousands of American soldiers in South Korea. It might be relevant to mention here that recently the delegation of that same country which maintains its troops in South Korea under the United Nations flag and which prevents the country's peaceful unification, fought tooth and nail in the Security Council against the participation of permanent members of the Security Council and of the socialist countries in the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East. Should one yardstick be applied to the Middle East and a different one to the Far East? Where is principle here? Where is justice here? It is high time to relegate to the past the golden age for certain imperialist Powers when they could lord it freely in the United Nations, including matters concerning the Korean question.

The past two decades have convincingly demonstrated that

the presence of foreign troops in South Korea has merely complicated the situation and prevented the peaceful unification of the country. The demand for the immediate withdrawal of those troops is lawful and just. It is in keeping first and foremost with the interests of the Korean people themselves and will help fully to correct the situation in that part of the world.

The withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea is appropriate to the situation in North Korea, where for over 10 years there has not been a single foreign soldier. It is fully in keeping with the provisions of the historic Joint Statement, in which both parties solemnly declared that they would not use force of arms against one another. There can be no doubt that the withdrawal of foreign troops, above all American troops, from South Korea will help to eliminate a potential threat of armed conflict between North and South Korea.

It should once again be stressed that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is ready to do everything in its power to bring about the country's peaceful unification. For the sake of unification it is prepared unilaterally to reduce its troops to 200,000, not to have recourse to force of arms to solve the problem of unification, and not to attack the South.

Recently there was an official visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by a Bulgarian delegation headed by the Chairman of the Council of State of Bulgaria, Comrade Todor Zhivkov. The delegation enjoyed an extraordinarily warm reception from the fraternal Korean people, for which we should like once again to thank them. The representatives of our country had an opportunity to see for themselves the tremendous results achieved by the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in all areas of their economic, political and cultural life. Under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has transformed itself from a backward country into one of the industrially most advanced countries of Asia. The consistent policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of struggle against imperialism, of struggle for the peaceful unification of its homeland, for peace and socialism, has enhanced its international authority, which is illustrated by the fact that it now maintains diplomatic relations with more than 60 countries and trade relations with more than 80.

In the joint Bulgarian-Korean communiqué of 29 October, we read:

"The Bulgarian side again declares its support for the

consistent policy of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at independent peaceful unification of the country and in particular the five-point programme announced by Comrade Kim Il Sung on 23 June and emphasizes that for the unification of Korea the South Korean leaders should accept these just proposals."

"There are not, and cannot be, any moral, historical or legal reasons for a further stay of North American troops in South Korea," declared the Chairman of the Council of State, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, on 28 October. Accordingly, we are in favour of their immediate and unconditional withdrawal. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is also in favour of the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, because the Korean people themselves have the lawful right to settle their domestic problems. Faithful to the traditions of the relations of fraternal friendship and co-operation between the Bulgarian and Korean peoples, we once again express our warmest support for the programme of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as holding out the best chance of the relaxation of tensions both in the Korean peninsula and throughout the Asian continent. The unification of the Korean people is a great and just cause, and it will therefore be achieved.



HENRYK JAROSZEK

Poland

The Polish delegation wishes, at the outset, to extend its warm, fraternal welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by Comrade Li Jong Mok, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In so doing, may I also echo, on behalf of the Polish delegation, the sentiments expressed by the President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Stanislaw Trepczynski, who, in his opening address to this session of the Assembly two months ago, greeted in our midst the first permanent observer to the United Nations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The delegation of Poland notes with particular satisfaction the entry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the United Nations system. I am referring to the decision taken in Geneva last May by the World Health Organization.

Some weeks ago Poland celebrated a quarter of a century of diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In the annals of the history of the two countries it is but a short moment when one bears in mind that Poland's statehood is over a thousand years old and that Korea goes back a few millennia. But for both our countries it was a momentous period, since both People's Poland and People's Korea, some 30 years ago, embarked on a road of construction of socialism, of defence of a permanent world peace, of unflagging efforts to raise the standards of living of their respective peoples.

People's Korea's record in all these respects has been very impressive. Emerging from the ravages of war, People's Korea has built up, through the selfless toil of its industrious people, a modern industry; modernized its agriculture, bringing it to high levels of efficiency; introduced a universal 10-year education system; recorded remarkable achievements in all fields of

economic and social life. People's Korea is a good illustration of how the socialist system helps an underdeveloped, post-feudal, post-colonial, war-ravaged country to advance rapidly in all domains of human endeavour.

Internationally, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has followed a policy of peace and co-operation with all States in the spirit of peaceful co-existence. This steadfast policy, as well as People's Korea's firm adherence — declared on many occasions and proved by its international practice — to the principles and purposes enshrined in the United Nations Charter, won it, in the climate of a growing world détente, high prestige and recognition in the world community. Maintaining diplomatic, consular and other relations with some 80 States, developing trade exchanges with well over a hundred countries, being a member of many international organizations, People's Korea recently joined also the organizations of the United Nations system. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, loyal to the best traditions of the Korean people who contributed much to the world's cultural heritage, by virtue of its domestic and international record, is a worthy member of the international community.

The Polish delegation wishes to express its satisfaction over the good spirit in which the question of Korea has been tackled so far during this General Assembly session. We have smoothly included the questions into the agenda, without the traditional, controversial debates in the General Committee and in the General Assembly. In this Committee we have witnessed the unprecedented concord over the question of inviting the delegations from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and from South Korea. And, without much ado, we have agreed on the timing of our discussion of item 41.

Last but not least, the presence in our midst of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as well as that of South Korea, should facilitate our discussion and assist the Assembly in arriving at correct decisions.

Why is it that after so many years of acrimonious debates in the United Nations such progress has been achieved in the recent months? In attempting to answer this question my delegation stresses that it is the policies of peace and détente, forcefully advocated and followed by socialist countries, including the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, that are the prime underlying reason. As is well known, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has for many years in-

defatigably tabled its constructive proposals, addressed to South Korea, with the consistent desire to achieve a relaxation of tension in the Peninsula and thus to contribute to a wider amelioration of the international atmosphere in the Far East. After years during which those proposals went unheeded, an apparent breakthrough was attained when the representatives of North and South, after having started their dialogue, signed the Joint Statement in July 1972, in which, *inter alia*, they agreed that the reunification of both parts of Korea should be achieved independently, without interference from the outside, and that the reunification should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side.

However, after some tangible progress had been achieved in the dialogue in Korea during 1972, obstacles had arisen subsequently through no fault of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Polish delegation is of the opinion that the removal of those obstacles would be facilitated by the appropriate steps which should be taken by the United Nations at this session. In this context may I emphasize that the United Nations has the duty to contribute to the process of *détente* which, in the specific case of Korea, came into being as if in spite of the United Nations, whose prestige there has been damaged as the result of the existence of UNCURK, of the presence of the so-called United Nations Command and of the abuse of the United Nations flag by the foreign forces stationed in South Korea.

What I have in mind is that the United Nations should discontinue and wind up its deplorable involvement in the Korean question. Therefore, we welcome with satisfaction the proposal that the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea — that ill-conceived body which we have always held illegal from its inception and which never really attempted to live up to the ideals which its beautiful name might have implied — be dissolved. That step, long overdue and demanded for years now by my delegation as well as by many other delegations, is now about to be taken, and this is a welcome development. Thus, operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution entitled "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea", contained in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, of which Poland is a co-sponsor, will be implemented. The next logical step to be taken — and operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution just refer-

red to provides well for such a course of action — should be the decision to annul the right for the foreign troops stationed in South Korea to use the United Nations, and to dissolve the “United Nations Command”.

We hope that the opponents of this proposal, who for years have questioned our demand that the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea be dissolved, and who now have come round to proposing the very same solution, which in this particular case is dissolution, will be consistent and will support the next logical steps along this correct path; namely, that the United Nations flag should cease to be abused in Korea and arrangements should be made for the disbandment of the so-called United Nations Command in Korea.

This Organization should put an end to the perpetuation of the fiction in which the United Nations flag in South Korea serves to cover up the continued stationing of foreign troops there.

The flag of our Organization, under which Poles are now serving the cause of peace in the Middle East, must not be abused and should not be flown in the wrong places, to which it has been illegally carried.

Finally, the ultimate step which would help remove the obstacles to the progress of the North-South dialogue in Korea and best serve the interests of the process of détente in the Peninsula, would be to have all foreign troops stationed in South Korea withdrawn. If that were done a situation would be reached in which in both parts of Korea there would be no foreign troops — and everybody is aware that there is not a single foreign soldier in the northern part of Korea. Such a situation would facilitate the further steps to be taken for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of that country.

This is provided for by operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, co-sponsored by almost 40 States, including my own.

We hope that this draft resolution will meet with overwhelming support in this Committee and in the General Assembly.

I submit that to raise the question of the entry of a State into this Organization, in the way done by the co-sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645, when the State concerned has not intimated its desire — in accordance with the wishes of its people — to become a Member of the United

Nations, is ill advised and inopportune. I have spoken about the climate of détente in the world and in Korea. Coming out with the matter of United Nations membership in this context, against the well-known position of the State concerned — and we know full well the procedure for admission of a new Member — could only raise suspicions about the real motives prompting such an idea.

The United Nations has an opportunity now to contribute to the positive evolution towards détente in the Korean Peninsula and in the Far East in general. For the sake of the brave and talented Korean people who have suffered so much in the course of their history from foreign aggressors — feudal and imperialist alike — and who have now made brilliant progress under the socialist system in the North, we should now clear their path to a peaceful settlement in accordance with the aspirations of the Korean people themselves.

In the interests of peace and relaxation of tension in Korea and in the Far East, and in the interest of its own prestige, the United Nations should do away with the remnants of the cold-war policies into which — in contravention of the provisions of the Charter — it was once drawn; it should disengage itself from the Korean problem by adopting decisions that would put an end to the illegal use of the United Nations flag in Korea and to the fictitious presence of the United Nations there.

For the continuation of the present state of affairs cannot but affect adversely the progress of the North-South dialogue in Korea. Its continuation is also the source of the unnecessary friction among United Nations Members and of cold-war style sentiments and oratory in the debates in this Organization.

We shall be discharging our duty well, in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter, by adopting the draft resolution entitled “Creation of Favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea”, as contained in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1.



RAHMATALLA ABDULLA

Sudan

I wish to start by extending a hearty welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to express special joy at their being given the chance to state in a forceful way their just case in the United Nations for the first time after a number of years of denial.

The United Nations is in Korea to bring about by peaceful means the establishment of a unified independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area. Those are the declared aims of the Organization as they were stated in Security Council resolution 82 (1950). But it is common knowledge to us that the name and the flag of this Organization have been used to cover up a blatant foreign intervention. The police action, the limited war, the useless war or the travesty of a certain President, or whatever might be the phraseology assigned to it by the phrase-makers, was an American affair, fought by the United States and its allies. The question was rushed to the Security Council to exploit the collective nature of a United Nations intervention. The legality of that resolution is highly questionable. To us the resolution is illegal, but the wrongdoer maintained that it has a legal alibi. The so-called legal alibi through the years has not absolved the wrongdoer from his responsibility.

The United Nations intervention is a United States intervention. Do we need to quote even from the so-called United Nations Forces commanders to support our contention? General MacArthur said:

"My relationship with the United Nations was only nominal. Everything I did was controlled entirely by the Joint Chiefs of Staff...even my routine reports had to be censored by the United States State and Defence Departments"

A later commander was more frank when he said:

“The United Nations has not the capability of carrying out any of the high-flown decisions that it makes. I was the Commander-General of the United Nations Forces in Korea, and I do not recall getting orders in whatever form from the United Nations during the entire war... No, I would not count on the United Nations for anything.”

Some delegations still try to persuade us to believe that the United Nations has been in Korea. For argument's sake, let us assume that the United Nations has forces in Korea. Do Members of this Organization, or does the Secretary-General know the number of those forces, their composition, their deployment, their plans or their equipment? What has the so-called United Nations presence achieved in fulfilment of the declared aims of this Organization? Has it achieved unity, when Korea has remained divided for more than half a century? Has it achieved the institution of a representative democracy? Do we forget that the people of the southern part overthrew Syngman Rhee, who had dominated the southern Korean scene for so long under the protection of the so-called United Nations presence, because of his undemocratic rule? Has the United Nations presence contributed to the reduction of tension in the area? Every delegation here is aware of the ever-mounting tension in the area since the United Nations has been present in Korea.

In fact, the United Nations presence in Korea has turned the southern part into a military depot for the arsenal of the United States. The country has become a staging post for espionage activities. Have we forgotten the Pueblo or the EC-121 incidents? Southern Korea has also become a reservoir for recruitment of innocent Koreans to support foreign intervention and a war of aggression in Indochina. The role of the southern Korean contingents in Viet-Nam need not be recounted.

This is the balance sheet of the so-called United Nations presence in Korea. What an insult to our intelligence! It is time to call a spade a spade and to designate things by their proper names: the so-called United Nations presence is nothing but a United States intervention.

The agency that operates on behalf of the United Nations, the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea is an organization born in illegality. The United Nations has not been called upon to act in Korea, and the resolutions establishing UNCURK and its predecessors

was adopted against the will of a substantial majority of the Korean people. The proposed programme budget of UNCURK for 1974-75 amounts to \$ 529,000, according to document A/9006. My delegation would like to enquire: has this impoverished Organization solved its problem of solvency, to spend such a sum of money on such a useless organization? What useful work has UNCURK or its predecessors achieved through their existence? Their reports to the Assembly have been a compilation of propaganda and irrelevant material. This year's report, contained in document A/9027, is a glaring example. Out of 107 paragraphs of the report, 45 are devoted to development in southern Korea, including such subjects as wages and employment, external resources for development and so on. Well, such information could easily be obtained from the United Nations Library or, for that matter, from any other library. In comparison, the report devotes only 13 paragraphs to political development in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The report contains a detailed table of 6,485 violations committed, of course, by the army of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. There is not a single incident committed by any soldier north of the 38th parallel. We would have wondered if the report had contained such information. How could we expect the Committee to be impartial? Have the reports of the agency contained the Pueblo and the EC-121 incidents, for example? Have we not been told by the agency that the régime of Syngman Rhee was a model of democracy? Its verdict was falsified when the populace in southern Korea overthrew his Government because of its undemocratic nature.

The only positive contribution in the agency's report is what is stated in paragraph 106, which provides:

"Giving due weight to these considerations and to developments during the past year, the members of UNCURK express their considered judgement that the presence in Korea of UNCURK is no longer required and they accordingly recommend that UNCURK should be dissolved."
(A/9027)

We say in Arabic: "It is a virtue to obey at last the dictates of justice". Let us hail on this occasion those who reached such a conclusion some time ago and accordingly have stopped participating in UNCURK activities.

We are concerned with the independence, unity and peace of Korea. For this reason we have followed closely the recent developments in the area. We have hailed the Joint Statement

of July 1972, signed by the two sides. The Korean Peninsula has never seen such a period of calm and peace as was the case after the signature of the Joint Statement. Thus it has been demonstrated that peace would prevail only when the two sides were able to sit together to chart the way for their future, without any outside interference.

The dialogue and negotiations between the two parts during the three meetings held between them demonstrated also the genuineness of each side. One side was negative in its attitude towards the question of peace and unity in the area and did not go further than procedural matters. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, consistent with its declared policy towards the question of peace and unity in the area, had put forward a complete plan for unification and peace. It was a simple plan to reduce armed forces, to conclude a peace treaty and to achieve contacts between political and other organizations of the two parts of the country. This is the same realistic road traversed by two States in Europe after they had first settled their major political differences pending increased contacts between their peoples. How can people of the two parts of Korea achieve contact and co-operate in economic and cultural fields in the shadow of military confrontation, in a state of war and with a foreign military presence?

The dialogue between the two parts of Korea, hailed the world over, has been interrupted by a sudden switch over to the idea of creating two Korean States and a call to admit them in the United Nations. Many reasons were given to support this move. The European case has again been cited as an example. It has been said that the two States had been admitted to the Organization without prejudice to their future unity. Well, while the European scene has similarities to the Korean Peninsula the two are not identical.

While the United Nations had no role in the European case, the Organization is not only implicated in Korea but also must achieve unity in that country and not disunity. In Europe the peoples and the Governments of the two countries concerned had agreed to join this Organization; but that is not the case in Korea.

We should ask the advocates of this policy why should the United Nations, which was called to unify Korea, retract from its declared aims, and declare publicly the division of Korea. What is the wisdom behind this new move when the two parts

have just started to negotiate their differences and to settle their dispute to achieve their unity? Why would the same forces that in the past advocated a policy of non-admission to the United Nations of the two European States until those States had settled their differences today advocate the admission of the two Koreas before they have settled their disputes?

It is an open secret that the two Koreas cannot be admitted to this Organization as a unified State or as two States unless the two parts settle their differences. May we be permitted to inquire whether the people of Korea have been consulted on whether they prefer to join the Organization as one unified State or two States? How can the United Nations arrogate to itself the right to be arbiter of the Korean people where it has no right at all? May we also ask about the motive behind the call for the two-Koreas policy: is it a genuine desire of those advocating the theory of the two Koreas to achieve representation of the people of Korea in the Organization or a design to split the country? If it is a genuine desire to achieve Korean representation without prejudice to its unity in the Organization, then why not consider the suggestion of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that Korea be admitted as a Confederal State of Koryo, thus achieving representation and enhancing the cause of unification that the United Nations is purported to hold aloft?

The unity of Korea, deeply rooted in a common background of history, ethnology and civilization, existed for more than 4,000 years. There is no force on earth that can stand in the way of its unity. The struggle of the Korean people towards unity is part and parcel of the struggle of the people of the third world against colonialism, racism, Zionism and foreign intervention. This was why the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Algeria declared in the forty-second paragraph of its political Declaration:

“The Conference supports the action of independent and peaceful reunification undertaken by the Korean people, requests the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and considers that the Korean problem must be solved without foreign interference.”

The same Conference adopted a resolution mapping the way for the solution of the Korean question. This just declared policy is our manifesto for handling the Korean question.

It is time to end the so-called United Nations presence in

Korea; it is time to remove a badge of infamy from the chest of the United Nations. For those reasons, Sudan has co-sponsored the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 and will reject and vote against the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645.



YAKOV ALEKSANDROVICH MALIK

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Now that the First Committee has started its consideration of the Korean question the Soviet delegation would like to state the position of the Soviet Union on that question.

Before turning to the substance of the matter, I should like to express my great satisfaction at the fact that for the first time in the discussion of the Korean question in the United Nations General Assembly a representative delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is taking part. That is something which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and many States friendly to the DPRK have been fighting for more than 20 years. That fact and the recent establishment of the permanent official observer mission of the DPRK at the United Nations is a great victory for that country and for all the socialist and a number of other peace-loving countries, and is evidence of the strengthening of the international position and prestige of the socialist Korean State.

We take particular pleasure in welcoming here the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Deputy Foreign Minister, Comrade Li Jong Mok. The participation of the official representative of the DPRK in the Korean question discussion at the General Assembly and the statement by him of the position of his country on the Korean matter makes it possible for the United Nations as a whole and for all delegations at the Assembly to have a deeper understanding of and a more detailed insight into this important problem in all its aspects.

Accordingly, thanks to the restoration of justice and the ending of more than 20 years of discrimination in the United Nations against the DPRK, the General Assembly and its First Committee, for the first time in the history of the discussion

of the Korean question, has had an opportunity to hear the other side of the story, that of the official delegation of the DPRK. Hitherto the Assembly and its First Committee have been obliged to content themselves with a one-sided, tendentious statement of information which was doled out to them in doses approved by the foreign command in South Korea. The epoch of such one-sided information on the Korean matter, information hostile to the DPRK, in the United Nations came to an end yesterday. Accordingly, the First Committee and the General Assembly now have an opportunity to obtain directly from the DPRK information on the actual state of affairs in the Korean matter and in the Korean Peninsula, and we are grateful to Comrade Li Jong Mok for his very thorough and well-argued statement.

The head of the Korean delegation, in his statement on behalf of the Government of the DPRK, put forward a broad programme of action which indicated the real ways and means of achieving a just settlement of the Korean question in the interests of all the people of Korea, in the interests of the strengthening of peace and security in the Far East. Such a thorough acquaintance by Member States of the United Nations with this programme will, we are firmly convinced, promote the working out of a general constructive approach to the whole complex of the Korean problems and will help us to hold a discussion in the Assembly in the spirit of a fruitful exchange of views and a businesslike approach to solutions.

The Soviet delegation, guided by the interests of comprehensive support for the just position of the DPRK, a fraternal socialist country, is a co-sponsor of a draft resolution submitted by 35 Member States of the United Nations. This draft resolution provides for concrete measures designed to guarantee the creation of favourable conditions for the speedy, independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. This of course also determines the position of the Soviet Union on the Korean question. As members know, this is not the first time that questions relating to Korea have been discussed in the United Nations, but, unfortunately, we are forced to note that so far action has been confined to the adoption by the General Assembly and the Security Council, through the machinery of mechanical voting, of resolutions which put a rubber stamp on the continuation of the existence of the illegally created so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which has intervened in the internal affairs of the Korean peo-

ple; while constructive proposals, whose purpose was to clear the way for the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem, have each time been rejected by the same mechanical voting routine. By the arbitrary will of the opponents of a just decision on and solution of the Korean problem and the normal consideration of that problem in the United Nations, the DPRK has been systematically excluded from discussing the question, and at the last two sessions of the Assembly such a discussion was deliberately and unjustifiably postponed. As the facts of life have shown, this not only did not facilitate things but actually hindered them.

Now in the conditions of the easing of international tension we find that more favourable conditions have been created not only for having a fruitful discussion of the Korean question in the General Assembly of the United Nations, but also for taking a decision which could eliminate the external obstacles to a settlement of the Korean question and ensure the creation of conditions that would facilitate the speedy, independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The situation in the Korean Peninsula is now characterized by the emergence of new positive factors. This was the consequence of the important initiative of the Government of the DPRK and personal initiatives of the President, Kim Il Sung. The first steps have been taken along the difficult and complex path towards the restoration of the national unity of Korea. A dialogue has begun between the DPRK and South Korea, and agreement has been achieved on the creation of the North-South Co-ordinating Committee. That Committee has already met. In the Joint Statement of the North and the South, dated 4 July 1972, general principles are defined for the unifying of the country by peaceful means and through the efforts of the Korean people itself without any outside intervention. Accordingly, it remains to put into effect the agreement achieved and to translate the agreed positions of principle into concrete undertakings for their practical implementation.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, speaking on 26 October this year at the World Peace Congress in Moscow, indicated in particular that the initiatives of the DPRK designed to achieve the peaceful reunification of Korea has met with broad political response throughout the world. This has been demonstrated in particular by the general debate at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. In the course of that debate delegations of many Member States of the United

Nations made a very high assessment of the peaceful initiatives of the DPRK and of its efforts to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country without any foreign intervention. It has been acknowledged that in the present circumstances it is possible and necessary to approach the discussion of the Korean problem in a businesslike way, without any prejudices one way or the other towards those who support one side or the other.

The duty of the United Nations undoubtedly lies in seeing to it that, as objectively and impartially as possible, account is taken and use is made of the new positive development in the events in the Korean Peninsula. By its authority, the United Nations, within the framework of its responsible mission for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security and the protection of the rights of all peoples to self-determination, independence and independent development, should support the strengthening and deepening of the positive factors which have emerged in the development of the situation in Korea.

The most important step that should be done for this purpose is to take measures to call a halt to foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Korea in all forms and manifestations; otherwise, all talks about the wish and intention of the United Nations to promote the peaceful and democratic unification of Korea will remain empty words and abstract statements.

But the cause for the sake of which the Korean matter is being actually discussed in the United Nations is not making any progress.

Taking into account the situation that has now arisen in Korea, the statement can be made frankly and unambiguously: either an end will be put to foreign intervention — in which case there will be an even greater easing of tension in the Peninsula and the necessary preconditions will be created for progress towards the peaceful, democratic unification of the country — or outside intervention, in old or new forms, will continue and the state of confrontation in the Peninsula will be maintained in the future, and along with confrontation there will be a continuation of the division of Korea, with all its negative consequences.

The Korean people quite rightly expects from the United Nations the promoting and ensuring of favourable conditions for the independent, peaceful unification of the country, without any foreign intervention whatsoever. The most effective way

for the United Nations to do that would be, we are firmly convinced, the elimination of all means employed for purposes of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Korea. That is the goal towards which the efforts of the United Nations and the General Assembly should be primarily directed.

The historic injustice that has resulted from the illegal decision of the United Nations of which the Korean people have been the victim should be remedied. The United Nations cannot shirk its direct duty to eliminate this injustice and to call a halt to foreign intervention in Korean affairs under the aegis of the Organization. This would help to ensure conditions necessary for a settlement of the Korean problem.

The more we go on the more clearly is revealed the pernicious effect of foreign intervention in the affairs of Korea on the independent, peaceful unification for which the Korean people have been struggling with the active support of its many friends. It seems that that simple truth has now been understood by those who for a long time have been pursuing an illegal policy of direct intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people — a policy contradictory to the United Nations Charter — or, in one form or another, have been pursuing a policy of promoting such intervention because of their participation in this matter. The primary point is the so-called “United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea”, whose members have themselves now been forced to recognize the uselessness of that Commission and have recommended its dissolution.

The Soviet Union has constantly expressed its opposition to that illegally established organ and its one-sided, tendentious reports. The inadmissibility of the one-sidedness of the work of that Commission and its hostility to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was quite rightly mentioned yesterday in the First Committee by the representative of Sudan, Mr. Abdulla. Accordingly, it would be putting it mildly to say that the work of that Commission has proved useless; it has actually been prejudicial throughout its existence, and its dissolution constitutes the legitimate and inevitable fate of that organ.

In this regard we cannot fail to note the distressing fact that to maintain that unnecessary and actually prejudicial Commission throughout the period of its existence, the United Nations budget has had to disburse about \$ 5 million, not to mention the other expenditures, to be reckoned in millions, that have been imposed upon the United Nations by the foreign interven-

tion in the affairs of the Korean people under the United Nations flag.

But the Commission is just one lever for the operation of foreign intervention in the affairs of the Korean people. There are still preserved other extremely important and serious ways and means of exercising foreign intervention. We have in mind primarily the fact that after more than 20 years we still find foreign troops stationed in the territory of South Korea; and everyone is very well aware that they are not United Nations troops but the troops of one foreign State — the United States of America. Without any foundation whatsoever, they illegally call themselves “United Nations troops” and the command of those troops, with similar illegality, is named the “United Nations Command”. And it is well known that the carrying out by the United Nations of operations connected with the use of armed force on behalf of the Organization and the setting up of a command over such armed forces are matters that fall totally within the competence of the Security Council, the United Nations principally responsible for the maintenance of peace and security.

A United Nations command created in such circumstances upon the decision of the Security Council is obliged to report regularly to that body. The military specialist who heads such a command of United Nations armed forces is to be appointed by the Security Council. Just a few days ago, for example, the Security Council, strictly in keeping with its rights and duties, considered the question of a commander for the recently created United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, set up upon the decision of the Security Council. The Security Council appointed a commander for those United Nations armed forces in the person of Finnish General Siilasvuo. The commander reports regularly to the Security Council, through the Secretary-General of the United Nations, on progress in accomplishing the mission entrusted to him by the Council in respect of those United Nations armed forces.

As is well known to all Members of the United Nations, throughout the existence of this fictitious command and these fictitious armed forces of the United Nations, not a single report has come in to the Security Council from the so-called United Nations Command in South Korea about what it is doing there and what the so-called United Nations armed forces under its command are doing there. Not a single report for more than 20 years has been sent in by that Command to the Security

Council of the United Nations. The commander of those armed forces is sending those reports to quite a different address, and it is high time to restore justice and eliminate this fiction.

These foreign troops, illegally covered by the United Nations flag, are being used for the implementation of plans which have nothing whatsoever to do with the task of preserving and strengthening peace in the Korean Peninsula and the Far East. In practice they are serving only as an important bulwark for the South Korean authorities, who are unwilling to face the task of a just, peaceful settlement of the problem of the unification of Korea in the interest of the whole Korean people; and the fictitious titles of "United Nations armed forces" and "United Nations Command" are nothing but a screen for this.

The role of the United Nations at the present time, of course, lies in the following — in ending the use by foreign troops of the illegally appropriated United Nations flag. It is also necessary to end the fictitious existence of the so-called United Nations Command. The United Nations must wipe away this stain on its reputation and put an end to such pernicious practices which undermine the authority of the United Nations in the eyes of world public opinion.

The international moral duty of the General Assembly is, without any doubt, also to acknowledge that all foreign troops stationed in South Korea should be withdrawn. The General Assembly is, of course, entitled to have its own judgement on this matter in spite of the well known decisions of the Security Council, which are illegal since they were adopted without the participation of two permanent members of the Security Council. It is well known that for a long period of time there have been no armed foreign troops in the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Therefore, it is entirely logical, just and, from the point of view of international law, legal, to raise the question that both the North and the South of Korea should be in an equal position in this important matter. Such a solution to this problem would ensure the creation of the necessary equal conditions for the peaceful, independent reunification of that country.

Fallacious references to the fact that foreign troops are in South Korea because of what is alleged to be a threat from the North cannot possibly convince or mislead anyone. Those references are without any foundation whatsoever. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is pursuing a peace-loving policy and is putting forward sensible and constructive proposals

which provide for the solution of the Korean problem by means of a peaceful and democratic settlement. It is precisely the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that is putting forward the proposal for a mutual and very substantial reduction of the armed forces in both the South and North of Korea, and for the conclusion of a peaceful agreement between the two parts of the country by means of an armistice agreement. The unfounded and artificial nature of such charges against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is shown by the readiness of that country to undertake a mutual reduction of armed forces in the South and the North up to the amount of 100,000 men, as was stated yesterday by the Head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Those who still assert today that maintaining foreign troops in the southern part of the Korean peninsula would, as they see it, promote the stabilization of the situation in that region, have been answered by the facts of history. The presence of foreign troops in South Korea stabilizes and strengthens just one thing, namely, the split of Korea. Therefore, such an approach is discredited and rebutted by the very facts of life. The duty of the United Nations, in these circumstances, is to cast out that incorrect and prejudiced approach which has been imposed on the Korean people from the outside.

There are some people within United Nations circles who are also spreading the trumped-up idea that the reconciliation of the parties and progress in talks between the North and the South can be promoted by the simultaneous admission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea to membership of the United Nations. In fact, in the present circumstances everything is actually the other way around. The prime cause for the unsettled nature of the problems between South and North Korea do not at all lie in the fact that at the present time they are not Members of the United Nations. The essence of the matter is that such a long drawn out period of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people and the presence of foreign troops in South Korea have been preventing the whole Korean people from living in conditions of peace, democracy and social progress in an independent and reunified fatherland. The problem of the reunification of Korea is the internal problem of the Korean people themselves, a problem which should be resolved by peaceful means as a result of the joint efforts of the whole people of North and South Korea, who have already embarked upon a dialogue.

The question of the admission to the United Nations of the two Koreas before the reunification of that country can be raised only by someone who really wants to create additional obstacles, which, in any case, are already considerable in number, and who wants to stand in the way of a just settlement of the Korean problem. On that question we support the well known position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is that the North and the South do not need to enter the United Nations separately. However, if they do want to enter the United Nations before the reunification of the country, they must enter it in the capacity of a single State, at the very least after the creation of a confederation.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, whose constructive initiatives called into being the present dialogue between the North and the South of Korea, is primarily striving to resolve the key problems and eliminate the fundamental obstacles to the creation of favourable conditions for the reunification of the country. The programme of the peaceful, independent reunification of the country put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has met with support from the whole Korean people and from all progressive forces of today. This is demonstrated, for example, by the resolution on the Korean problem recently adopted by the Algiers Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. Those countries, along with the socialist States, constitute an overwhelming majority in the United Nations. The proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea promote the further normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula, meet the interests of strengthening security throughout the Far East and give impetus to the holding of fruitful talks between the South and the North of Korea.

However, the whole set of measures proposed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is being turned down by Seoul on the unfounded pretext of what it calls "their untimely nature". It is quite clear that if the South Korean authorities were really concerned about easing tension in Korea and in the Far East, as their representatives declare, they would not be resisting the implementation of the urgent measures to reduce the strength of the armed forces of both parts of Korea, to call a halt to the growth of the military potential and to end the foreign military presence in Korea. All this points to just one thing, namely, that in Seoul they are not interested in carrying out effective measures to strengthen and make even more

profound the trend towards the easing of tension in the Korean peninsula and to make a weighty contribution to the general improvement of the situation in the Far East.

To sum up what I have just said, I should like to stress once again that a further improvement of the situation in the Korean peninsula and the ensuring of successful progress towards the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea would be decisively assisted by the dissolution of the United Nations Commission on Korea, by the liquidation of the illegally appropriated right to use the United Nations flag — a right that has been appropriated by one side, by the elimination of the United Nations Command in Korea and by the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea. It is precisely such measures that are provided for in the draft resolution co-sponsored by 35 Member States of the United Nations comprising socialist and non-aligned countries. That draft resolution was most cogently introduced and explained by the head of the delegation of Algeria, Mr. Rahal. The adoption of the draft resolution by the General Assembly would demonstrate in actual fact the interest of the General Assembly in seeing that the Korean people freely became masters of their own fate and resolved the problem of the reunification of their country by peaceful means, on a democratic basis and without foreign intervention. The carrying out of the urgent measures proposed in that draft resolution on the Korean question would be of tremendous significance not only on the level of the Korean people, but also far outside the borders of the area. The elimination of a hotbed of tension and a potential source of conflict in that part of the world — and this is precisely the purpose of the draft resolution — would to a considerable degree promote the strengthening of the trend towards international détente and the extending of that détente in all directions, giving to it an irreversible character.

The Asian continent is on the threshold of far-reaching changes. We note here the important improvements that are being made. Conditions are becoming ripe for dealing with such large-scale tasks as ensuring security in Asia on a long-term basis by the combined efforts and with the participation of all Asian States without exception.

The resolving, step by step, of the contemporary problem of the present situation in Asia, which include without any doubt a settlement of the Korean problem, would be a serious contribution to the creation of a favourable climate for the perfor-

mance of this noble task. In its turn, the combining of the efforts of the Asian countries, their co-operation for the purposes of strengthening security in Asia on a collective basis, would promote a just settlement of the urgent, vitally important problems of their existence which now face the Asian peoples.

In a telegram of welcome, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, made the following extremely important statement on the position of the USSR in the Korean matter:

“The Soviet people have deep understanding and sympathy for the constant efforts of the Workers' Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the whole Korean people, to achieve the ending of military confrontation between the North and the South and ensure conditions for the national reunification of the country on a peaceful democratic basis. These purposes are served by the broad and constructive programme put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. And we consider that the question of the unification of Korea can and must be resolved by the Korean people itself without intervention from outside.”



MILOUS VEJVODA

Czechoslovakia

At the opening of my statement, may I be allowed to express in the name of the Czechoslovak delegation our satisfaction at the fact that, following several years of delay, the current United Nations General Assembly has decided to include in its agenda the question of Korea and to delibe-

rate on it for the first time in the history of the United Nations in the presence of the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In this connexion, I should like to extend our sincere greetings to the delegation of the fraternal Democratic People's Republic of Korea, led by Comrade Li Jong Mok, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Twenty-six years have passed since the time when the question of Korea was placed before the United Nations General Assembly for deliberation for the first time. Allow me to remind representatives briefly how it happened that the United Nations became involved in this matter, in spite of the fact that originally no United Nations involvement was envisaged at all. At the Moscow talks held between the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, the United States of America and the United Kingdom in December 1945 it was decided, inter alia, to "re-establish Korea as an independent State and develop the country on democratic principles". To implement the agreed principles, a special Joint Commission was established, composed of military representatives of the USSR and the United States of America, and entrusted with the task of assisting in creating the provisional Korean Government. In agreement with that Government, it was to present proposals to the signatories of the Moscow agreement, which would be aimed at arranging the international status of Korea. However, in spite of this agreement, the imperialist Powers blocked the work of the Joint Commission and subsequently wrecked its fur-

ther activities by means of various obstructions. Later, they used the inactivity of the Joint Commission, which they themselves had caused, as a pretext to request, on 17 September 1947, the inclusion of the Korean question in the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly, in defiance of the international agreements they themselves had signed. Thus, the United Nations was drawn into the solving of this question and the long history of our Organization's deliberations on the Korean question began.

At the second session of the United Nations General Assembly, in 1947, in spite of the fact that the representatives of socialist countries clearly proved that the course taken by imperialist Powers was in violation of international agreements, the mechanical voting majority adopted a resolution on the establishment of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. Its work was later assumed by the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. As a result of the consequent development, the 38th parallel, which served originally as a demarcation line for the Soviet and United States armies at the close of the war with Japan, turned into an artificial boundary, dividing the country. It is well known that subsequent events culminated in the so-called Korean war in which the whole United Nations as well as its flag and insignia were flagrantly misused. That war was a result of the ill-fated aggressive policy of the United States in Asia at that time, a policy which later brought about another set of developments in another part of Asia, namely, Viet-Nam. The representative of Algeria explained very clearly in his brilliant statement yesterday how the United Nations was misused by the United States to cover up its military intervention and to perpetuate the division of Korea.

The majority of the Korean people have never agreed with the artificial division of their country; on the contrary, they support every effort aimed at putting an end to that state of affairs. That is why last year's talks between the representatives of the northern and southern parts of Korea which resulted in the adoption of the North-South Joint Statement of 4 July 1972, in which three fundamental principles for peaceful unification agreed on by both parties are embodied, have met with such a broad response.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, proceeding from its peaceful policy and taking into account the interests of the Korean people, has in all seriousness approached the im-

plementation of the agreed principles relating to the unification of the country. It has therefore presented a number of constructive proposals and measures to implement the agreed principles in real life. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has presented, among other numerous proposals, a principal five-point programme to eliminate the danger of a military confrontation between the two parts of Korea, a programme which might turn out to be one of the first steps to implementing the agreed principles for the peaceful reunification of the country.

It is in the light of the aforementioned facts that, in our opinion we should regard the latest proposals by some delegations, mainly of Western countries, to admit both parts of Korea to membership of the United Nations. We emphatically reject that proposal, which is aimed at the strengthening of the division of Korea. We fully support the just demand of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that only one, unified Korean State be admitted to the United Nations. The admission of both parts of Korea separately not only would be against the stabilization of the situation in Korea but, on the contrary, would create a new hotbed of tension in Asia and a permanent threat to universal peace; it would be a step contrary to the United Nations Charter. Durable and lasting peace in Korea can be secured only in one way: the peaceful unification of the country.

The enemies of unification are exerting efforts to achieve the permanent division of Korea and, in this context, to attain the admission of both parts of Korea, and are using every argument to justify in some way or other their separatist intentions, which are contrary to the interests of the Korean people.

Citing the membership of both parts of Korea in some United Nations specialized agencies, they spare no effort to prove that the membership of both parts of Korea in the United Nations proposed by them would be, as a matter of fact, only a formality since such membership already exists in the specialized agencies. Such assertions must, however, be rejected as improper, since there is a difference of principle between membership of the United Nations as a world political organization and membership of United Nations specialized agencies aimed at promoting international co-operation in the fields of science, technology, culture and other specialized fields of human activity.

Similarly, we must reject any effort to compare the present situation in Korea with that of the two German States, particularly with regard to the admission to membership of the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal

Republic of Germany. As the only State bordering directly on both German States, we are particularly aware of the difference between the two situations. The division of Germany has a different historical and political background which must be viewed in the broader context of European historical developments.

The solution of the whole question will certainly not be easy and will yet require extensive efforts of all progressive forces. The Czechoslovak delegation believes that a realistic basis for durable peace on the Korean Peninsula, as well as for the gradual unification of the country, is represented by the latest five-point proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a proposal whose substance lies in creating conditions for the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea.

That proposal—presented by Comrade Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on the occasion of the visit by the Czechoslovak Party and State Delegation to a rally in Pyongyang on 23 June 1973—would, in our opinion, contribute at the same time to the strengthening of peace and security in Asia. The Czechoslovak people highly appreciate the initiatives connected with the peaceful policy pursued by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and fully support the efforts of the Korean people to live in a unified and peaceful Korea. This unswerving support was expressed in the statement of Mr. Gustav Husak, Head of the Czechoslovak Party and State Delegation, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, at the above-mentioned rally of the Czechoslovak-Korean Friendship at Pyongyang, who stressed that, together with the other progressive peoples of the world, the people of Czechoslovakia firmly believes that the Korean people will succeed in achieving its national aspiration: the peaceful unification of the country.

Changes that have occurred in our Organization during the past few years in accordance with the over-all trend towards international détente create one of the preconditions for restoring the prestige of the United Nations in dealing with the Korean question. This year the General Assembly has an opportunity to contribute its share to the peaceful solution of the problem, which is an anachronism and a consequence of the injustice of the cold-war period. We view as a realistic path towards that solution the draft resolution proposed by Algeria and other countries, which embodies in substance the following: first, the

dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK); second, the abolition of the right of foreign troops stationed in South Korea to use the United Nations insignia and flag; and, third, the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

The assertion of the just demands of the Korean people in its efforts peacefully to unify its country is the cause of all the peace-loving forces and peoples of the world. That is why the Fourth Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in Algeria also gave its full support in the resolution it adopted to the demand that all foreign troops be withdrawn from South Korea, that their right to use the United Nations flag be abolished and that the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea be dissolved and Korea be admitted to membership of the United Nations only as a unified State.

The Czechoslovak delegation has always lent its support to the just demands of the Korean people, and has consistently been an interpreter of its interests in the United Nations, as underlined in the statement of Bohuslav Chnoupek, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in the general debate at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, who stated:

“We endorse these initiatives of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea since they are aimed at bringing about the democratic reunification of the country by peaceful means and without external interference. It is our belief that it is important for the United Nations to encourage these aspirations by endorsing unreservedly the rightful proposals of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.”
(A/PV.2142, p. 56)

That is why the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has also this year become a co-sponsor of the aforementioned draft resolution, which, in our opinion, expresses the fundamental interests, aspirations and demands of the Korean people.



**RICARDO ALARCON
DE QUESADA**

Cuba

First of all, on behalf of my delegation I should like to extend the warmest welcome to our colleague Li Jong Mok and the members of his delegation. The presence here of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea constitutes an his-

toric milestone for the United Nations. This event bespeaks a complete turning-point in a course that for more than 25 years was imposed on the discussion of the Korean question by imperialism and its allies. This is an undeniable victory for those of us who have consistently defended the right of the people of Korea to independence. Now for the first time in the history of this Organization the First Committee has taken up the question of Korea by hearing the true representatives of the Korean people. For 26 years this Organization was forced to interfere in the domestic affairs of that country; this Organization was used as an instrument for both interference and aggression; this Organization was forced to violate its own Charter, and for all that period of time, through all sorts of manoeuvres, the door to this hall was closed in the face of the only ones who were authorized to speak on the fate of the Korean people, namely, the legitimate and worthy representatives of their people.

In stating the joy of my delegation at this new turn of events and in cordially welcoming the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, we read into their presence here the victory of all those who are fighting against imperialism and struggling for their independence, as a proof of the fact that in the long run, regardless of the obstacles imposed upon them by their enemies, justice, the law and the will of peoples will always prevail.

In their presence and through them we greet the heroic people that, under the leadership of Kim Il Sung and the Work-

ers' Party of Korea, victoriously withstood the imperialist harassments, persevered in their struggle to defend their inalienable national rights and defended and continued firmly to defend their independence.

When we heard the important statement of the Vice Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea yesterday, we recalled the earlier experiences in the debates on the Korean question. Yesterday's meeting appeared as a decisive milestone in the discussion of the problem and, casting our eyes over the past, we could clearly see, as was so eloquently described by Comrade Li Jong Mok, the bankruptcy of the aggressive policy imposed by American imperialism on the Korean people since the end of the Second World War.

The debate on the Korean question in the United Nations has been a long one. It has covered the entire period of the history of the Organization. In its passage, imperialism has resorted to all the manoeuvres and ruses imaginable. But as the Organization became more representative and as it better reflected the world of today, as new independent States increased its membership and as the American hegemony over it crumbled, imperialism had to devise and invent new methods. The immediate objective was always the same, namely, to prevent the Assembly from exercising its right to adopt just solutions to solve the Korean question once and for all, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The strategic objective was also identical, namely, to perpetuate interference in the domestic affairs of Korea, to interfere in the life of the people, to try to keep South Korea tied to the plans of imperialist world domination and to keep it subjected to Yankee monopolies.

For over two decades the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was slandered. It was accused of being the aggressor. It was held up to us as being the arch enemy of the United Nations. We were told for many years that the United Nations had a presumed duty to act as the means of reunifying Korea. For years the world was subjected to the argument that the instruments created by American imperialism and poorly disguised as international entities, such as the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the so-called United Nations Command, had a useful and necessary role to play in the solution of the problems confronting the Korean people. For years this hall resounded with the argument that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was responsible for the division of that coun-

try, whereas the Government in Washington and its allies and paid retainers were the defenders and would-be champions of Korean reunification.

Fortunately, however, outside this hall history marched on in its inexorable way. The process of the emancipation of peoples under the colonialist and imperialist yoke continued. The truth gradually emerged victorious, for Korea too, and started to hammer on the walls of the conference room of the First Committee. One by one the imperialist arguments were worn threadbare; one by one the lies were proved to be lies. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, despite the incalculable damage caused by the brutal Yankee aggression of 1950, was nevertheless able to create a powerful and prosperous socialist economy. It extended its contacts with foreign countries, it earned friends in all continents and it made the truth known.

Precisely those delegations that for two decades had imposed the discussion of the Korean question on us here to repeat annually their slander against that country, suddenly in 1971 and 1972 proposed the postponement of that discussion. Now we find that those same delegations, which for 26 long years refused to allow the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in our debate, want it to become, with the South Korean régime, a Member of the United Nations. It is suggested today that the Security Council, which has not touched the matter since its illegal interference in the Korean question, once again be called upon to study the question of the so-called United Nations Command. To complete this sorry picture, those who until yesterday told us that the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was playing a determining and positive role, today recommend the dissolution of that Commission.

These apparent paradoxes can be explained very easily. They obey the same anti-Korean imperialist logic. In recent years the debate was avoided because the imperialists were afraid of the changes that might flow from the deterioration of their old and worn-out mechanical majority. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was barred from participation in the discussion because it was feared that it might speak the truth — truth that was ultimately heard yesterday by the Committee.

Today, the invention is offered us of two Koreas, and they are being linked and brought into the United Nations in order, for all time, to crystallize the division of the country. Obviously, once those responsible for the division of Korea, the imperial-

ists and their allies, have been unmasked for all time, and therefore they can no longer uphold the existence of a Commission which, according to them, was to reunify the country, or at least encourage that reunification.

With regard to the next step, a dissolution of the Commission, our position is well-known. We have always insisted that that organ should cease to exist. We must say that the product yielded by that Commission was thousands of thousands of useless pages of documents, teeming with lies and slander, and, furthermore, that the monies that the States Members had to contribute to keep that spectre of the cold war in existence was enormous. The only thing the Commission has done in all that time is to have drafted one paragraph, paragraph 106 of its latest report (A/9027), where at last it recommends its own dissolution.

With regard to the contention that it is the Security Council that should discuss the matter of troops stationed south of the 38th Parallel, the intention again is obvious. Those troops were organized by North American imperialism. They are and have always been under the control and orders of the Pentagon. The only United Nations things they possess are the flag and the blue berets.

Those who now allege a presumed Council competence over those troops should be asked why it is that for years it was here in the Assembly, and not in the Security Council, that they called for those troops to remain where they are. They should also then explain to the Committee precisely how many reports on the activities of these troops were submitted by that or any other organ of the United Nations in the course of those years. Who controls them? To whom do they respond? Who nominates their leaders, and so on and so forth? But I think that reality is obvious. The troops occupying South Korea are basically North American. They receive orders from the Pentagon, and only from the Pentagon. Their sole mission lies in perpetuating Yankee intervention, upholding the South Korean camarilla, and standing in the way of the reunification of the country. The so-called United Nations Command is a mask behind which to disguise Yankee aggression.

The clumsy manoeuvre of depriving the Assembly of the right to decide upon those troops is intended to silence the majority of the Assembly, which has nothing to do with the aggressive designs of the Pentagon, and to perpetuate the military oc-

cupation of South Korea, thanks to the United States veto. The solution of the Korean problem lies within the grasp of the Assembly. The Korean nation is one. The Korean nation has existed as a unified and independent entity for many centuries. The artificial division of Korea is the result of North American aggression; and if it has lasted for a quarter of a century, it has been exclusively thanks to Yankee interference in Korean questions.

The unification of Korea is a matter that falls squarely within the rights of the Korean people to solve, freed from foreign interference. The Korean people is quite able to solve this matter itself and will do so despite all the contrary plans and proposals that United States imperialism and its allies may elaborate. Yet the United Nations and the First Committee in particular, do have one duty regarding the problem of Korea since this Organization was used as the cat's-paw for aggression against that country. Even today its symbols are used by the aggressors who continue to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Korean people.

It is for those reasons that I say that this Committee, without further delay, must adopt the necessary decision for the United Nations to cease to be used as the tool for interference in the life of that people, so that this Organization shall cease to be used to violate its own Charter and the principles of law. The only way of redressing and correcting the mistaken conduct of this Organization in obedience to American imperialism is to approve at the present session the draft resolution that, together with a large number of countries, Cuba has the honour to sponsor (A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1.). That draft resolution contains the basic elements that we believe define the responsibilities and the duties of this Organization in this matter, duties and responsibilities which sooner or later it will have to shoulder. Those elements have been stated and reiterated year after year in this Committee, and today they are supported by an increased number of Members of the United Nations.

First of all, the United Nations must decide to dissolve the Command and prohibit the use of the symbols of the Organization by the troops occupying South Korea. It must call for the immediate withdrawal of those troops, which do not belong to the United Nations and are not United Nations troops, but troops that were taken to Korea as part of the general aggressive planning of the Washington Government. The United Nations must decide to dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for

the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and it must stop interfering in the domestic affairs of that country.

That line of reasoning was unanimously supported at the Conference of the Non-Aligned Heads of State and Government, numbering more than half the membership of this Organization, when they met in September of this year in Algiers. That line of reasoning, furthermore, is in keeping with the interests and the will of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, for whom the defence of national independence, the defence of the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of a people constitute sacred and cardinal principles that must be upheld at all times.

Today our Organization is once again being invited to follow the other line of conduct, the line of conduct which was imposed upon it by North American imperialism over two decades ago and which is designed to make this Organization an instrument of aggressive United States policies. A two-fold admission is planned, the two-fold admission of what they call "both Koreas" — as though that could be conducive to the unification of the country. We feel, and if we look at reality we must know, that if "both Koreas", as they are called in this document, were to be admitted to the United Nations, we would thereby be consolidating the division of the country, and the final and unchallengeable responsibility for that division would be laid squarely on the doorstep of the United Nations.

I think it only appropriate to recall that 26 years ago this Organization was also invited to adopt decisions of a partitionist nature. Those decisions are in fact the root of a number of serious international problems that have bedevilled the United Nations since. Twenty-six years ago an effort was made here to submit, as a solution to a problem, the partitioning of a country, ignoring the inalienable rights of its population and thereby not only committing a gross violation of the principles of law, but also creating an acute centre of international tension and aggression, which the Organization has had to deal with since. We cannot believe that in 1973 imperialism and its allies can again persuade this Assembly to repeat history; again to divide a single country; once again to ignore the sacred right to self-determination of its people; and again to create a new Palestine — surely not at this stage in the life of our Organization.

Before concluding, on behalf of my Government and my delegation I should like to state our whole-hearted support for the consistent positions adopted by the Government of the De-

mocratic People's Republic of Korea on the question of the reunification of Korea under the leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung and the Workers' Party of Korea. This Committee is debating this subject after having had a chance to hear for the first time not only the representatives of the South Korean régime but also the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Two messages have been heard by members here and it is up to them to weigh and understand those messages.

One speaker yesterday defended with warmth and with vehemence the right of his people to independence, the other today tried to justify the subjection of his country to the foreigners. One speaker yesterday called for an end to foreign interference in the Korean question; the other today asked for the permanence of the occupying troops that govern them. One speaker yesterday proclaimed the inalienable right of his country to national unification; the other today asked us to make the division of the country definitive. One speaker represents the interests of the ideas of all peoples struggling for independence and sovereignty; the other today echoed the interests of imperialism. One speaker yesterday represented the inevitable future; the other today insisted on preserving a past which this Committee is called upon to bury once and for all.

IPO TO EYEBU BAKAND'ASI

Zaire



It will be remembered that the question of Korea which the Committee is now considering is one of those issues which fuelled the cold war. The spirit which so long prevailed in international relations did not favour the settlement of this issue. Now that we are witnessing a gradual improvement in relations between the great antagonists of yesterday, there are grounds for believing that Member States will be able to make an effort to achieve a degree of impartiality in their judgement on the Korean question, and this suggests certain reflections to the delegation of Zaire which we would like to share with the international community as a whole.

At a time when the principle of universality is being so enthusiastically affirmed by so many delegations, at a time when the two Germanys have been admitted to the United Nations, we find ourselves in a kind of dilemma which is reflected in the draft resolutions before us. We would like to state immediately that we are in favour of the suggestions contained in the draft resolution of the non-aligned countries in document A/C.1/L.644, which reflects the aspirations of the two Koreas to live in unity as the basis for the harmonious flowering of the Korean nation in its cultural, economic and social life. National cohesiveness is a positive element that helps States to achieve valuable progress in the affirmation of their national identity, sovereignty and political independence. Unity, as my country knows so well, strengthens the capacity of a State to resist foreign forces, while division weakens it and exposes it to foreign domination. That is why we want to encourage the trend towards unity which has been manifested ever since 1971.

The two Korean States have renewed their dialogue, thus ushering in a new age after a period during which there was no true communication. We are in favour of sincere dialogue

between the parties in a form that will bring to the same table the children of the same motherland for the discussion of problems which are properly their own. The immediate effect of dialogue is to reduce tension and promote mutual understanding. We unreservedly support the North-South Joint Statement, which, *inter alia*, contains the following three principles: that reunification should be brought about in independence, with no intervention of foreign forces; that reunification should be brought about by peaceful means; and that the protagonists should surmount their ideological differences and promote the idea of close national unity.

Beyond the sphere of political, economic and cultural relations, the two entities should institute a human exchange that will be the precursor of integration, and other countries should do everything in their power to encourage the resumption of the interrupted dialogue.

We believe that the provision of the draft resolution of the non-aligned countries do take into account the principle of self-determination enshrined in the San Francisco Charter, a principle that should be applied in this situation together, indeed, with the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

To resolve the dilemma that seems to be involved because of the need for ensuring universality, it suffices to quote the words of the President of the Republic of Zaire, who so judiciously pointed out a way of approaching the problem:

"We suggest to all Members of our Organization that they refrain from taking any action that might widen the gulf between the two parties, and that, rather, they help them to pursue the course that they have freely chosen for themselves, namely that leading to reunification. In the meantime, they can be admitted as observers. And if they succeed, as we earnestly hope they will, in reaching unity, we will, needless to say, have a single Korean nation represented here by a single delegation." (A/PV.2140, p. 63)

To examine the question of Korea, the delegation of Zaire would have liked to see placed before the Committee a draft resolution proposed jointly by the two Korean entities to resolve a problem which is essentially theirs. We do not believe that it is yet too late for the Committee to have before it a document of this kind, one that would serve the higher interests of the Korean people and at the same time facilitate our task. The

question of Korea should be left to the people of Korea themselves to solve without foreign intervention, even that of the entire international community. The Committee will, we are convinced, spare itself the necessity of adopting a resolution that would be retreating before something which does not exist, something which, though intended to advocate a solution for the Korean people, would actually make the possibility of a solution even more remote.



PRIMO JOSE ESONO MICA

Equatorial Guinea

Since this is the first time that my delegation has taken part in the debates in this Committee, I am extremely pleased to congratulate the Chairman on his election to preside over the First Committee, and I also wish to extend my congratulations to all the other officers of the Committee. My delegation is very gratified at the decision of the Committee since we know full well the Chairman's wisdom and dynamism, and these, together with his noble spirit of justice, are an earnest of the success of our labours in the course of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

The growing interdependence of the peoples of the world and their problems make it increasingly necessary to strengthen the efficiency of the role of the United Nations as an instrument to achieve peace, justice and the social well-being of the international community. The final target of the Organization is, therefore, not merely to serve as a reflection of events that take place in the world, but also to serve as a forum in which these problems can be discussed in order to find just and equitable solutions to them.

The United Nations is also intended to bring States and their populations closer together, to allow them to achieve peace, well-being and social justice. For the United Nations efficiently to do its duty along these lines, we should endeavour to achieve a universal democratization of the United Nations. The tendency to set the United Nations aside when problems of vital importance are discussed has had a dangerous effect, not only on our Organization but on international relations as a whole.

Today, we are once again considering the question of Korea and the possibility of creating favourable conditions to speed up the peaceful reunification of the country. When problems are

posed to the United Nations it is in order that a solution to them shall be found, not just for us to accept them as though we were willing complacently to acknowledge that we cannot solve them and therefore must live with them. The Members of this Organization have to seek ways of adding to the prestige which the Organization deserves. It is inconceivable the way many of the original signatories of the San Francisco Charter today flout the United Nations and its effectiveness — using the flag of the United Nations when committing imperialist crimes in different parts of the world in order to complete their individual and ambitious plans, but setting aside the sacred principles and ideals on which our Organization rests. The flag of the United Nations should enjoy the same prestige as the Organization, and it is we, the Members, that must ensure this.

The imperialism of the United States of America possesses its own flag and should use it whenever it is trying to impose the law of the trigger. It is not right, or appropriate, for the flag which the United Nations has adopted for itself, a flag which is honoured and respected by all save a few of its Members — whose names I do not have to mention since they are known only too well — who use it for purposes contrary to the Charter. The cunning of American imperialism in extending its domination is very great, and for many years has kept many people subjected.

Human life is a constant search for perfection and history describes the progress of man in his search to perfect his existence as a human person. It is for this reason that the United Nations still has time to correct the errors of the past and even those being committed at present. It is an obvious error to use the flag of this Organization for the individual plans of a single Member State. The shortsightedness of the United Nations in dealing with certain problems that threaten to disturb world peace should not be allowed to grow. Even though the United Nations can and should wake up, now that there is still time, we must help to strengthen its role and assist in the preservation of world peace.

One of the practical consequences of the indifferent attitude with respect to decisions of the General Assembly lies in the war that took place in the Middle East, where Israel with overbearing arrogance ignores the resolutions of the Security Council — and I can say that it is not only the populations of the territories involved that suffer; the suffering extends to those

Powers which are encouraging the hostilities. Today the people of Korea is the main prey of these imperialist Powers.

On 7 October 1950 the General Assembly in its resolution 376 (V) recommended that

“All appropriate steps be taken to ensure conditions of stability throughout Korea”.

It was on the strength of that resolution that the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) was established; it was composed of the following Member States: Australia, Chile, the Philippines, the Netherlands, Pakistan and Turkey, and was given a mandate that should have allowed it to help in establishing a unified, independent and democratic Government for Korea as a whole. But more than 23 years have passed since that resolution was adopted and since the aforementioned Commission was established, and they are 23 years of failure. It would have been preferable for that Commission to be abolished before it had to admit its own incompetence instead of forcing us now to consider its dissolution.

Some of the goals of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, introduced by Algeria and co-sponsored by more than 35 States Members of the Organization, including my country, are: dissolving the United Nations Commission on the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, withdrawing the foreign military forces at present occupying the southern portion of the country, and enabling the people of Korea to seek the peaceful and effective unification of the country. My delegation is firmly convinced that that draft resolution will commend itself to at least the majority, if not all, of the members of the Committee and of the General Assembly.

My delegation believes that the problem of the reunification of Korea should be decided by the Korean people themselves, since there are not two Koreas — there is only one — and they must solve their problems without foreign interference. Thus, we believe that the two parties will be ready to undertake negotiations, which if established on a solid basis, will be able to avoid foreign Powers taking advantage of the symbols of the United Nations on Korean soil and sending in troops to encourage the division of the Korean State by the establishment of puppet governments.

We are also convinced that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the inhabitants of the southern part of the peninsula are desirous of reunifying their country, which was always united and always existed under the symbols of brother-

hood, democracy and respect for the human person. But the ambition of imperialism and Japanese military aggression, when establishing the puppet régime in the southern region, gave life to the old adage of "divide and conquer". Incidentally, let me say that in the short life of my own country as a free and independent State, we too have been on the verge of suffering from the same manoeuvres of imperialism that have always encouraged the division of the State of Equatorial Guinea. It is for this reason that we can presume to read the cunning of imperialism and repudiate it; it is for this reason, too, that we deeply support the struggles of a country against these diabolical forces.

The joint North-South Statement on Korea, published on 4 July 1972, coincides with our draft resolution on the key question of dissolving the United Nations Commission, as well as calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces occupying the southern part of the nation and leaving the Koreans free to unify their country. The General Assembly would be unreasonable were it to reject that draft resolution.

My delegation is aware that the withdrawal of foreign military forces and the peaceful settlement of the matter are requirements if we are to respect the equality of States and their peoples and the right of nations freely to solve their own problems without influence or coercion, as well as the respect that all States owe to the concept of the sovereignty of other States.

For that reason, the Government of His Excellency the President-For-Life of the Republic, and President of the Central Committee of the Single National Workers' Party of Equatorial Guinea, Don Francisco Macias Nguema Biyogo, decreed the evacuation of the foreign armed forces that occupied our country. Those forces did not care whether the State was in a fit condition, and the President felt that it was not important that we had lived without an army, because, as he stated: "Countries are judged by the courage of their men, not by their forces of belligerence".

Thus we believe that the Korean people, by its courage and by peaceful means, will be able to bring about a reunification of that country, and that this will be a process of fraternal dialogue, undertaken without delay. We are equally convinced that the Korean people itself has not forgotten its traditions or its history and that it will prove its courage to the world at the moment of truth and will know how to live up to that history and tradition.

The stipulations of the Armistice Agreement signed on 27

July 1953, if complied with, would have been an effective solution to the problem of the reunification of Korea; unfortunately, however, it was the imperialist manoeuvres that triumphed. At any rate, may I launch an appeal to the delegations present who represent peace- and freedom-loving nations to unite their efforts in order to achieve the reestablishment of a unified, free, independent and democratic Korea by peaceful means, and thus reaffirm our conviction that the Korean people is capable, by itself and by peaceful means, of solving this problem.

Moreover, my delegation knows that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been free of foreign military forces, whereas in the southern portion of the country foreign military forces are still stationed and are committing barbarous acts, using as their shield and buckler the flag of the United Nations. This extremely explosive situation cannot contribute to the prevalence of the spirit of the Charter; it does nothing but show contempt for the United Nations, since it hinders the free exercise of the sovereign rights of the peaceful people of Korea.

My delegation does not oppose the admission of Korea to the United Nations as a Member State, but we do feel that it would be inappropriate to admit to our Organization a two-fold representation of Korea, since that would only be an obstacle to the unification of that country. Furthermore, whilst the southern portion has not freed itself from imperialism and Japanese aggression, and whilst popular democracy does not prevail there, my delegation will consider that there do not exist two Koreas, because in my country it is the principle of national unity and popular democracy which prevails.

The delegation of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea considers logical and just the struggle of the Korean people for its reunification, since my country considers imperialism to be condemned, and unity to be a sacred principle. For that reason, the Great Comrade His Excellency the President-For-Life of the Republic and of the Central Committee of the Single National Workers' Party, Don Francisco Macias Nguema Biyogo, in his speech of 12 October 1968 in Bata, the capital city of the Province of Rio Muni, said:

"I shall never tire of proclaiming the unity of all Guineans. Political plurality shall be respected and guaranteed, so long as it does not undermine the basic rights of our national community — that is, the integrity and unity of our country, which we must maintain and defend as our first sacred duty."

My Government has always upheld the concept that all nations of the world, great or small, must be equal in the application of justice, which is one of the principles of the Charter, and that all independent countries, within the framework of their own social systems, must establish stable and normal relations on the basis of mutual principles, including respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty. Thus it is that the people and Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea hate the policy of aggression and the intervention of certain States in the domestic affairs of others; but we are gratified when there is a policy of equality and mutual benefit among States so that international disputes can be settled by peaceful means, without resort to the threat or use of force.

My Government therefore believes that this should be applicable to relations among the great countries, to relations between a large nation and a small one, and all the more so between a powerful nation and a weak one, or a wealthy nation and a poor one. It is in this spirit that we understand the word "universality". It is the failure to implement these principles which explains the lack of calm and peace in the world today. Under these circumstances, how can we speak of the peaceful unification of Korea, when, basically, one part of that country is still under the military control of an imperialist colossus? It would be difficult for my delegation to blame those other delegations that have not understood this through lack of experience. Indeed it is not strange that they should be unable to understand it, but my delegation hopes that in the course of our debates those delegations will be enlightened, at least sufficiently to enrich their experience and make it possible to hand down a historic final verdict that will redress the injustice that our Organization has done to the people of Korea. We are called upon to hand down a verdict that will stop a great Power from its neo-colonialism in one part of a nation that yearns for unification, a great Power that is manoeuvring to give a twofold representation of that country in this Organization, which is the true reason underlying the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645. I urge delegations present not to be deceived by these manoeuvres, which will only lead to total and definitive separatism in the great Korean nation.

The people of the United States, who, as history teaches us, fought so hard to unify their own country surely must ask why their imperialist Government continues its malignant policy of dividing other nations. We should be very gratified if this

country were to show sincerity by supporting the draft resolution that we have submitted and by agreeing to withdraw its forces.

It is appropriate for us to concentrate on the declaration which was made on 23 June of this year by President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, when he pointed out that the North and the South should not be admitted to the United Nations as two States or before the reunification of the country has been achieved, but should be admitted as a single State under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo, once the confederation has been set up. This proposal is entirely reasonable and deserves the understanding and support of all nations of the world that love peace and justice, since it is a known fact that peace, justice and security constitute the necessary prerequisites to the achievement of all our objectives. Even though we do not all see these prerequisites from the same angle, we are all still called upon to ensure that they be respected in order to safeguard our world Organization.

To conclude, on behalf of the delegation I have the honour to head, I should like to extend a warm welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Li Jong Mok. My delegation firmly hopes that the direct participation of that delegation in the debates on the present subject will contribute to a constructive discussion of the problem.



REIS MALILE

Albania

After the many obstacles which were created at the last two sessions of the General Assembly for the purpose of postponing the debate on the Korean question, the First Committee finally has begun its examination of this very important problem.

It is understandable that the debate at this session has been the result of the indefatigable efforts of the Korean people and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and their desire and their will to realize their lofty national aspirations to the reunification of their fatherland, as well as of the ever growing efforts of the peace-loving peoples and States in favour of the just cause of the Korean people.

The present debate, unlike those held at previous sessions of the General Assembly, is taking place with the participation of the delegation of the DPRK, which is very important if we take account of the fact that the United States has done everything in its power for about 25 years in succession to prevent the voice of the Korean people from being heard in the United Nations in the course of debates dealing with a question of such vital importance to that people.

The Albanian delegation warmly welcomes the delegation of the DPRK, whose participation in the work of this session is of particular importance and constitutes a major contribution to the examination of and the search for ways and means of solving this problem. The statement of the head of the delegation of the DPRK in our Committee is further evidence of the just policy of the Government of the DPRK and its determined position with regard to the question of the reunification of the country. It is a clear statement of the actual situation now prevailing in the Korean peninsula.

Before setting forth its views, the Albanian delegation

would like to reaffirm its reservations with regard to the formulation of the title of the item which we are considering. The submission under a single title of the two items — that is to say, the creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and the report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea — is entirely wrong. The report of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea is intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people and in no way serves their highest interests. In our view, if we want the United Nations to make its contribution towards a solution of the Korean problem, the only proper question on which this session of the Assembly should focus its attention is that of the creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

We may safely claim that the question of Korea, which for almost 25 years has been a matter of concern to the Member States, is one of the questions which has caused a great deal of damage to the prestige and authority of the United Nations. The use of the United Nations flag to camouflage the armed aggression undertaken by the United States against the Korean people in 1950 has become one of the darkest pages in the history of the Organization. The role played by the United Nations in this aggression, which began just a few years after the Second World War, at a time when the Organization had just taken its first steps, not only constituted a flagrant violation of the Charter, but also dashed the hopes which the peace-loving peoples and countries had reposed in the United Nations.

Over the years the United Nations has adopted a number of resolutions whereby it legalized in practice the intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of Korea, thus gravely violating the sovereign rights of the Korean people. The United Nations has committed many acts of injustice against the Korean people and it is high time for these injustices to be redressed and for the Member States to respect the principles of the Charter and make their contribution to remedying the inadmissible situation in which the United Nations finds itself in Korea. And it is high time to repeal the arbitrary resolutions adopted under pressure of the United States diktat many years ago in other political circumstances, when a small number of States were represented in the United Nations, and not the 135 States we have today. The adoption of just decisions of this kind, in keeping with the highest interests of the Korean people and the

principles of the Charter, is particularly necessary because at the present time the United States is striving to complicate this question even further and to use the United Nations to perpetuate the division of Korea.

Almost three decades have elapsed since the division of Korea into two parts and 20 years have elapsed after the signing of the Armistice Agreement. In the course of that period great changes have occurred in the world. Many countries have thrown off the colonial yoke and have achieved liberty and national independence; however, Korea continues to be divided and the population in the south of the country is still suffering under foreign domination. Primarily responsible for that grave situation is the United States, which has pursued and continues to pursue with regard to the Korean people a policy of hostility, and has covered its activities in Korea with the name of the United Nations.

Almost a quarter of a century after the armed aggression in Korea, it is really paradoxical still to see American troops bearing on their helmets the insignia of the United Nations and using the flag of our Organization. Foreign military forces stationed in South Korea, in the name of the United Nations, have nothing whatsoever to do with the cause which our Organization should be serving and with the purposes and provisions of the Charter; they are nothing but the armed forces of the United States which take orders from nowhere but Washington.

The United States has transformed South Korea into one of its colonies whose people live under the double oppression of occupation troops and the Seoul régime; they do not even enjoy the most elementary democratic rights; they are subject to terror and savage reprisal; there are mass arrests of people who speak out in favour of freedom and the reunification of the country. Patriotic and democratic personalities have even been abducted and have disappeared. The United States has made of South Korea a base of aggression against the DPRK and the other Asian peace-loving countries. The United States is continually providing the South Korean authorities with large supplies of modern arms, and recently it has even sent to South Korea heavy arms and other military equipment used during the Viet-Nam aggression; it has been organizing large-scale military manoeuvres and has been committing acts of armed provocation against the DPRK, thus fanning war hysteria and trying to pit Korean against Korean. Everyone knows that many South Korean soldiers were sent as mercenaries to take part in the ag-

gressive war against the people of Viet-Nam to serve the clear-cut purpose of pitting Asian against Asian. The American policy in South Korea is typically neo-colonialist. That has had grave consequences for the South Korean people and for its just cause of the reunification of their country, and from time to time has created a situation of tension in the Korean Peninsula, in the Far East and has threatened peace in that area.

The continued presence of United States troops in South Korea 20 years after the signing of the Armistice Agreement constitutes the principal obstacle to the process of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. The Armistice Agreement of July 1953 should be followed by other important steps to ensure national unity and peace in Korea, and for this one of the fundamental conditions would be the withdrawal of foreign troops from that country. It is well known that volunteers from the Chinese people, who provided valuable and fraternal assistance to the Korean people in their struggle against aggression, were withdrawn 15 years ago from the territory of the DPRK and there is not a single foreign soldier left there. However, the United States, clinging stubbornly to its well known attitude, has kept its armed forces in South Korea, has strengthened its presence there and is still trying to cover all this up under the name of the United Nations.

The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which has nothing in common either with unification or with rehabilitation of Korea, has been illegal from its very creation. That Commission has been used for openly interfering in the internal affairs of the Korean people. In its annual reports, including the one presented to the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, that Commission has pursued very clear purposes, has distorted facts, has legalized the occupation of South Korea by the United States and has played a role which is entirely contrary to the true interests of the Korean people and peace in that area.

In the conclusions of its last report the Commission recommends its own dissolution. We should like to stress, and I am sure everyone will understand this easily, that that recommendation is in fact a decision taken by the United States and is dictated not because of a realistic and constructive attitude towards the Korean problem but because the work of that ill-famed Commission has been so completely discredited in the eyes of the Korean people and the other peoples. We should add

that the work of the Commission did serious damage to the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

The Member States which are struggling to ensure respect for the rights of peoples to freedom, independence and national unity, and which are interested in enhancing the effectiveness and prestige of the United Nations and adoption of the course prescribed by the Charter, should not permit the United States to continue to use the name of the United Nations to serve its own imperialist policies and ends. It is the duty of the United Nations to prevent any of its organs from being used as an instrument in the hands of a Power to intervene in the internal affairs of other peoples, and under the Charter its task is to defend the inalienable rights of the peoples so that they may freely express their will and exercise their right to self-determination. Article 1 of the Charter prescribes that one of the principal purposes of the United Nations should be the development of:

“...friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples...”

while Article 2 of the Charter forbids any intervention in the internal affairs of any people or State.

The Korean people opposed from the very beginning, and continues to oppose, the presence of American occupation troops in South Korea and United Nations intervention in the internal affairs of that country. Total liberty, effective exercise of sovereignty over the whole country and national unity are sacred to the Korean people. The reunification of Korea is a lofty aspiration of the Korean people in the north and the south of the country and no one has the right to create obstacles to it. The people of South Korea, the workers and the students and intellectuals in massive demonstrations and protests which have frequently taken place, even in recent days, have opposed the American presence in South Korea and the anti-national policy of division pursued by the Park Chung Hee régime. They came out firmly in favour of the unification of their country.

The Government of the DPRK, which represents the true interests of the Korean people, and which is its only legitimate government, seriously concerned at the grave abnormal situation in Korea and the great misfortunes caused to the Korean people because of the division of the country into two parts, has exerted continuing efforts and has presented some construc-

tive proposals for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

On 23 June 1973, the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Kim Il Sung, introduced a five-point programme which constituted an important political act and included concrete proposals for the elimination of the military confrontation and tension in Korea and was aimed at creating an atmosphere of understanding and co-operation in all senses between the two parts of the country and permitting them to present a united front internationally.

Those initiatives clearly show that the Government of the DPRK is indeed ready to contribute by all means available to it to the creation of favourable conditions for the independent unification of the country and to ensuring the progress of the country and the safeguarding of peace in that part of the world.

The concrete proposals presented to this Committee by the delegation of the DPRK are an expression of the good will and continued efforts of its Government to make progress towards the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The just and reasonable attitudes of the DPRK have always come up against the opposition of the United States and the Seoul administration, which while accentuating the policy of the oppression of the people of South Korea are continually creating obstacles to the unification of the country. The United States pretends to support dialogue between the North and the South but in actual fact by its actions it is encouraging the South Korean authorities to create ever greater obstacles in order to sabotage dialogue. At the same time it is encouraging South Korea to prepare itself intensively for war against the North and is having recourse to all kinds of machinations in order to deepen even further the division of the country.

Further proof of the obstructionist attitude adopted by American imperialism towards a solution to the Korean problem is the two-Korea plot, which it has worked out recently together with the South Korean régime, supported, in particular, by ruling circles in Japan, and their plans for the admission of the two Korean States to the United Nations. It is now becoming even clearer why in the course of the last two sessions of the General Assembly the United States has striven by every possible means to postpone a debate on the Korean question to a later session. The facts of life have shown that it wanted to prevent the Assembly from taking a just decision on Korea and to win time in order to perfect its two-Korea plot.

In the present circumstances, double representation of the Korean people in the United Nations would, in other words, mean the preservation of the status quo in Korea, pitting the North and South against each other and barring the way to the reunification of Korea, perpetuating its division and prolonging United States military occupation of South Korea. By that manoeuvre the United States is trying to resist the legitimate demands of the Korean people and Member States with regard to the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the banning of any foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Korea. It is trying also to legalize through the United Nations its two-Korea plot. Similarly, it is seeking in this way to divert the debate and to deflect attention from the examination of the question fundamental to the United Nations, which is that of creating conditions favourable for the acceleration of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The Albanian delegation is firmly opposed to the efforts of the United States delegation to implement in the United Nations its plan, the purpose of which is to perpetuate the division of Korea. We should like to stress that every step taken towards that end would constitute a serious crime against the Korean people and a flagrant violation of the Charter. The Korean people, which is one and indivisible, has, like other peoples, fought for centuries for freedom, independence and national unity and enjoys the undeniable right to live free, united and sovereign in its country. It is clear that fruition of the United States two-Koreas plot would have serious consequences. It would exacerbate ever further tension in Korea as well as the danger of military confrontation and would intensify foreign intervention in South Korea and threaten peace and security in the Far East.

The people of Korea will never permit the dismemberment of its country and is determined to thwart any manoeuvre which would prejudice its sovereign rights.

We cannot refrain from expressing our determined opposition to efforts at present being undertaken to take to the Security Council the question now before the Committee. Everyone will find it easy to understand that the purpose of all this is to see to it that the relevant illegal resolution of the Security Council should remain in force for an indefinite period of time and that the intervention of the United Nations in the internal affairs of Korea should continue.

Apart from that, such tactics are aimed at depriving Mem-

ber States of their right to express their views with regard to the discussion and adoption of appropriate decisions on this important question, which has a direct bearing on the destiny of the people and the interests of the maintenance of peace.

The people and Government of the People's Republic of Albania firmly support the fight of the Korean people for the reunification of their country and the just attitude of the Government of the DPRK on this question. They support the five-point programme of the DPRK, which opens up new prospects for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country by the Koreans themselves. They vigorously condemn the two-Koreas plot and support the proposal of the Government of the DPRK to admit Korea to the United Nations as a single State after the entry into force of the confederation system. The reunification of Korea and the way in which it will be represented in the United Nations are questions which are essentially domestic concerns of the Korean people which cannot and must not be resolved by anyone but the Korean people itself independently and without any foreign intervention.

We should like to express our conviction that the Member States of the United Nations, the majority of which have borne the heavy weight of foreign occupation and colonial domination, will reject the diabolical two-Koreas plan and will make a contribution to the efforts of the Korean people to live in national unity and, as such, to be represented internationally.

The present debate in the Political Committee clearly testifies to the importance of the problem before the United Nations. The United Nations is vastly indebted—I would stress that: vastly indebted—to the Korean people, and it is high time to redress the grave injustices done to that people. It is its duty to make an effective contribution to the creation of conditions favourable for acceleration of the independent reunification of Korea.

On this question, which is of such vital importance to the Korean people, the United Nations must take clear, concrete and urgent decisions in keeping with the inalienable rights of the Korean people and the fundamental provisions of the Charter, must put an end to foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Korea and immediately dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, deprive the United States occupation troops in South Korea of the right to use the United Nations flag and dissolve the so-called United Nations Command.

The United States armed forces must be removed from South Korea, and the Korean people must be left to decide for themselves on the destiny of their country. With regard to the present situation in Korea, we think that the adoption of the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and other countries (A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1) would be an important step towards the creation of the necessary conditions for a just solution of the Korean problem. The Albanian delegation supports this draft resolution and will vote in favour of it.

As to the draft resolution presented by the United States and other States (A/C.1/L.645), its content is entirely contrary to the national interests of the Korean people and peace in the Far East. It is for this reason that the Albanian delegation will vote against that draft resolution.

We would like to stress that in voting in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and other States, Member States will be making an effective contribution to the just efforts of the Korean people to realize this lofty national aspiration. At the same time, the adoption of the draft resolution would be a reaffirmation of the position of Member States which defend the principles of liberty, sovereignty and the national unity of peoples. There can be no doubt that that would also be an important contribution to the cause of peace and security in Korea.



PETER FLORIN

German Democratic Republic

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic, which is now taking part for the first time in the discussion of the Korean item in the United Nations, would, because of its friendship for the Korean people and in the interests of peace, like to see decisive progress achieved resolving

this problem as a result of the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We welcome with particular satisfaction the fact that, finally, a delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has had an opportunity, in this important forum, to explain to Member States of the United Nations its position on this item of the agenda.

My delegation views this as an important precondition for successful discussion of the matter. Almost all delegations in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly have pointed to the encouraging changes which have been occurring recently. We agree with the views set forth here that international relations, to an increasing extent, have been marked by a trend towards détente, towards a strengthening of universal peace and international security.

The community of socialist States, to which the German Democratic Republic belongs, has made it its declared purpose to co-operate with all States which show themselves ready to practise in mutual understanding and to extend the zone of détente throughout the world, in particular by eliminating situations of conflict which have arisen as a result of imperialist aggression, and also by the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination in a spirit of free decision in creating their own peaceful and happy future. This should be possible, too, in the Korean peninsula, particularly because the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has tirelessly come forward with constructive proposals accompanied by appropriate action. What has been

achieved should justify our hopes that the Korean problem will be resolved in a spirit of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

In connexion with the question of Korea, we sometimes find unworthy attempts being made to identify the position in the Korean peninsula with the situation in Central Europe. In actual fact, however, both from the historical standpoint and in terms of the present situation, the differences are quite obvious. May I be permitted in this regard to recall certain facts. The German Reich, founded in 1871 by blood and iron, gave rise to two world wars. This imperialist German Reich perished in 1945 in a torrent of blood, ashes and ruins. Its generals signed the Act of Unconditional Surrender in accordance with the Moscow Declaration of the allied Powers.

In 1949 the German Reich was succeeded by the Federal Republic of Germany and by the German Democratic Republic. For a quarter of a century now these two completely separate and independent sovereign German States have remained in existence, with opposing social systems, and have enjoyed international legal recognition. On the one hand, we have the socialist German Democratic Republic, which is an indissoluble constituent part of the community of socialist states solidly grouped around the Soviet Union; on the other hand, there is the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany, a member of NATO and of the European Economic Community. It will never be possible to unify the socialist German Democratic Republic with the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany. Furthermore, after the horrors of the two world wars launched by German militarism and imperialism, the fact that there will never again be a Reich ruled by militarism and imperialism is something that can only be comforting to the nations of the world.

In recent years it has been possible to conclude a whole series of treaties giving an international legal basis for the situation which has been created in Central Europe. According to these treaties, the parties undertake to develop their mutual relations on the basis of strict respect for State sovereignty and territorial integrity in the interests of ensuring lasting peace in this area. Contrary to this situation, the Korean people, for decades, suffered from the yoke of foreign aggression, and only after liberation in 1945 was it able to exercise this right to self-determination.

As we know, this right was exercised by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. But in the south of the country this

process was hindered by foreign intervention. At the end of 1948 Soviet troops withdrew from the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, while the United States troops remained in South Korea. In the Korean peninsula there occurred armed conflict which caused many casualties among the Korean people. Then a truce followed, which did not put an end to the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops.

Some representatives have already pointed to events in the United Nations at this time of trial and tribulation for the Korean people, and there is no need for me to add anything to that. It was the time of the universal cold war. Over and over again the DPRK has come forward with initiatives to resist the situation that was arising there with constructive proposals for the peaceful reunification of the country. Accordingly, in connexion with the changes which occurred in the international situation at the beginning of the seventies talks were started between the Red Cross of North Korea and the Red Cross of South Korea.

On 4 July 1972 an important agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea was published whereby efforts would be made to unify the country by peaceful means, without any foreign intervention.

Universal application of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter requires the immediate dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. That Commission's existence is incompatible with the right of the peoples of the world to self-determination and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other peoples. It is an anachronism which impedes a solution to the Korean problem and, what is more, inhibits the powers of the United Nations that could be used to perform those tasks that are really in keeping with the Charter.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic certainly considers this measure inadequate to accord with the right of the Korean people to self-determination and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States. What is most essential is to bring about the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Korean Peninsula.

We have always considered that the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops under the United Nations flag is one of the sorriest pages in the history of the United Nations. The fact that to this very day the Korean problem has not been solved demonstrates that the presence of foreign troops on Ko-

rean soil has had absolutely no positive effect on developments in that area; quite the contrary, the presence of those troops has been a constant source of tension between the South and the North of the country and has constituted a threat to international peace and security. However, one of the noblest tasks and duties of the United Nations, in keeping with the spirit and the letter of its Charter, is to do everything in its power to strengthen international security and to promote everywhere the creation of peaceful conditions for the coexistence of peoples. Therefore, the United Nations should adopt a decision to take measures that would finally put an end to the abuse of the United Nations flag by foreign troops stationed in South Korea and that would lead to their withdrawal.

The United Nations would, accordingly, be making the contribution expected of it to eliminating this source of crisis in Asia and would be taking a step that would promote the gradual extension of the process of détente to the whole world. It would also promote a situation in which the Korean people, independently and without foreign intervention, would solve its own national problems, and would also facilitate the positive developments that have been discerned since last year on the Korean peninsula and that have given rise to considerable hope among the Korean people.

On the initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which has always stood for a peaceful decision of the Korean problem, representatives of the North and the South, on 4 July 1972, as I have mentioned, achieved an agreement in which the fundamental principles for independent and peaceful reunification were set forth. They agreed to unite their efforts to create an atmosphere of trust and to attain reunification peacefully. Of particular importance in this regard is the fact that both sides clearly and unambiguously pronounced themselves against any foreign intervention. That agreement, which is in keeping with the exercise of the right to self-determination in the concrete historical circumstances of Korea, should be respected by all States and also by the United Nations — even if the ruling circles of South Korea complicate the implementation of that agreement.

I would like to stress once again that the key to a solution of the Korean problem primarily is the elimination of all forms of intervention in the internal affairs of Korea, so that the Korean people can, independently, decide on its own destiny. In the light of this, no one must do anything to hinder or im-

pede in any way dialogue between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea, dialogue whose purpose would be the peaceful reunification of the country.

My delegation considers that the question of the formation of relations with the United Nations system should be the business primarily of the parties, and we wholeheartedly support the position set forth here by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like to see every effort exerted to bring about a speedy solution of the Korean problem, which would be an essential precondition for the defence of the interests of the Korean people and also, and by no means least, would be in keeping with the interests of the United Nations itself.

Nor can we pass over in silence the fact that the Korean question has for a number of years now constituted quite a large burden for the United Nations budget and has been one of the reasons for the Organization's continued financial difficulties. Those financial problems did not arise through the fault of the States which have refused to pay contributions and in so doing have invoked the actions that were contravening the Charter; but those financial problems could be reduced by dissolving the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and eliminating all the illegal items in the United Nations budget.

My delegation is of the view that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 — of which the German Democratic Republic is a co-sponsor — is an appropriate basis for solving those problems.



AHMED ESMAT ABDEL MEGUID

Egypt

For about 28 years the people of Korea have lived in tragic disunity owing to the interference and intervention of outside forces. Consequently, the reunification of Korea is a task of pressing importance.

We praise the spirit of frankness and objectivity of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea which led it to recognize the fact that its contribution to the achievement of its objectives was not significant and, hence, to propose in its report that it should be dissolved. We know very well that both North and South Korea have recognized the willingness of the Korean people themselves to work out the conditions of their reunification without any outside interference.

We have witnessed with favour the development of relations between the two parts of Korea since contacts were established between North and South through the Red Cross entities, followed by negotiations at the highest level. Those contacts led to the publication of the historic Joint Declaration of 4 July 1972 and the formation of a North-South Co-ordinating Committee. We hope that the dialogue between North and South will be successfully resumed in the near future.

It seems to us that all attempts to maintain the status quo in Korea by keeping the artificial division between North and South are against the will of the Korean people and its inalienable right to self-determination without foreign influence or interference. In this context it is a fact beyond any doubt that the presence of foreign troops in Korea will hinder progress towards unification and the free self-determination of the Koreans. Furthermore, as a matter of principle, it is intolerable to see the United Nations flag used by foreign troops as a pretext to perpetuate the presence of those troops in any country.

Hence we back the proposal to dissolve the United Nations Command in South Korea.

We believe that withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag would create a favourable atmosphere which would contribute to the success of the North-South dialogue and facilitate the reunification of the two parts, restoring them to their former status as one State.

We also sympathize with the appeal to eliminate military confrontation and lessen tension in Korea. Such an easing of the situation in the Korean peninsula would be a progressive step paving the way to an improvement in the present relations between North and South and accelerating their peaceful unification.

We share the view that removing military confrontation and alleviating tension between North and South are prerequisites to the dissipation of mistrust and to the enhancement of understanding between the two sides in Korea. Therefore, the five-point proposal which the Democratic People's Republic of Korea presented in this respect is very constructive. That proposal aims: first, at reducing the reinforcement of armies and the arms race; second, at withdrawing foreign troops; third, at reducing armed forces and armaments; fourth, at stopping the introduction of weapons from abroad; and, fifth, at concluding a peace agreement.

The creation of the aforesaid conditions would pave the way for the admission to the United Nations of one Korea, confederated or united.

In associating itself with the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, sponsored by Algeria and others, Egypt welcomes the three principles for the national reunification of Korea comprised in the North-South Joint Statement made public on 4 July 1972, namely: first, that the reunification of Korea should be achieved independently, without interference and without reliance upon outside force; second, that the reunification of Korea should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of force by one side against the other; and, third, that national unity should be promoted.

In adopting the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and others, the General Assembly would assist in the creation of favourable conditions which would promote and accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

Finally, I should like to refer to resolution 11, on the pro-

blem of Korea, adopted at the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers in September 1973, and in particular to operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of that resolution, which state:

“Further calls on the United Nations General Assembly, at its twenty-eighth session, to consider the question of Korea and to decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and on the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea;

“Declares that Korean membership in the United Nations can only be achieved in the name of a single State, after the complete reunification of the country or after the establishment of a confederation of North and South.”

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 is fully in line with the resolution to which I have referred, adopted by the Conference of non-aligned countries.



ABDULLA SALEH ASHTAL

Democratic Yemen

My delegation is happy to welcome the participation of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in our debate. Its presence in our midst is certainly a manifestation of the irreversible trend of our time: that of the waning of imperialist pressure and influence. After having been politically slandered by the United States for a number of years, the DPRK has proved to be a peace-loving State struggling against foreign occupation and for independence and unity.

For over two decades, foreign troops—mainly United States troops—have been occupying South Korea under the banner of the United Nations. Under the pretext of keeping the peace in Korea, that army of occupation has become only a source of tension and a reminder of the cold war. Long after the Soviet troops left the northern part of the country, foreign troops in the South are still tampering with the sovereignty and independence of the Korean people. It is indeed an irony that the flag of the United Nations is still being used as a cover for outright foreign occupation. A fictitious military command which is not accountable to the Security Council is preposterously called the "United Nations Command". With utter disregard for the majority of the Members of the United Nations, the United States is obstinately refusing to dismantle its military bases and withdraw its troops from South Korea.

Favourable conditions to accelerate the independence and peaceful reunification of Korea can be created only when foreign troops have been withdrawn from the South. For how can this army of occupation contribute to the relaxation of tension when it is itself an obstruction to unity?

The DPRK has time and again proposed negotiation in order to break the barriers which are dividing the Korean people. In their joint statement made public on 4 July 1972, North and

South Korea agreed that the reunification of the country should be achieved independently, without relying on the interference of outside force. If the United Nations is to assist the North and South Koreans to negotiate further and peacefully to reunify the country, it should remove the obstacle to such reunification by the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

Another obstacle to the reunification of Korea is the idea of admitting a divided Korea to membership of the United Nations. The admission of two Koreas to the United Nations can only serve to perpetuate the division of Korea and to sanctify the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops. Endorsement of the idea of a divided Korea is, to say the least, contrary to the peaceful reunification of Korea, a subject which has been debated by the First Committee for a number of years.

My delegation is a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1. It is our conviction that there are only two courses of action susceptible of bringing peace and stability to Korea. First, there is the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in Korea; secondly, there is the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea through negotiations between the parties concerned.



V.N. MARTYNNENKO

**Ukrainian Soviet Socialist
Republic**

The Ukrainian delegation warmly welcomes the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea headed by the Deputy Foreign Minister of that country, Comrade Li Jong Mok, who is attending a General Assembly session for the first time as a fully fledged participant in the discussion of the Korean problem. We wish our Korean friends great success in the task they have come here to perform.

The discussion of the questions relating to Korea is taking place at this session in an atmosphere in which favourable prospects have been opened up in the world for the development of fruitful co-operation and the strengthening of international security. At the same time, that atmosphere still calls for tireless and active efforts to broaden and deepen the process of détente and primarily calls for the urgent settlement of conflicts and potential conflicts which have been caused by imperialist aggression.

Among the situations requiring an immediate solution there is, of course, the Korean problem. The current situation in Korea is a striking example of what can come from the imperialist policy of intervention in the internal affairs of a country and the division of a country — a policy which impedes the legitimate and just desires of the people to live in a single peace-loving and democratic State.

This is one of the problems which, if I might put it this way, we have inherited from the cold-war period. For a lengthy period, every year at General Assembly sessions there was put in motion the voting machine which put a rubber stamp on resolutions which loudly called for the holding in Korea of elections under United Nations supervision, which extended the presence in South Korea of foreign troops illegitimately using the United

Nations flag and confirmed the mandate of the Commission which united no one and rehabilitated nothing.

These are all very widely known truths, and we see no need to repeat them now. But we should like to stress the following points. In the present circumstances, which are marked by the development of a trend towards peaceful coexistence, and mutually advantageous co-operation among States with different social systems, we should resolutely throw out all the instruments of the cold war and try to achieve the cessation once and for all of any kind of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Korea. The Korean problem should be finally considered in a new historical perspective, and this is something that is required above all by the interests of the Korean people themselves who, like all other peoples, have the right to peace, security and a prosperous future and have the right to arrange their own internal affairs as they deem fit. This is also required in the interests of enhancing the effectiveness and authority of the United Nations.

The United Nations should turn its back on the policy of the past, a policy which did so much damage to its authority and prestige. Finally, this is required in the interests of strengthening international peace and security and in the interests of strengthening peace in Asia.

In the general political discussion at the present session of the General Assembly, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic expressed the hope:

"...that the General Assembly, already at this session, will take certain decisions which would be conducive to improving the situation in that important part of our planet. We refer, in the first place, to the cessation of the activity of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the disbanding of the so-called United Nations Command, which covers up foreign interference in the affairs of Korea, and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea. As a result, one more obstacle on the way to a peaceful political solution of the Korean question without any interference from outside would be removed." (A/PV.2144, p. 86)

Our delegation notes with satisfaction that in the consideration of the Korean question at this session we have witnessed some extremely important positive factors. First, we had the invitation to the representatives of both parts of Korea to take part in this discussion. That invitation was issued without any

preliminary conditions or reservations on a genuinely fair and equal basis. This is precisely what for so many years was fought for by the delegations of the Socialist and other peace-loving countries, including the Ukrainian delegation. Justice has finally prevailed, and we have been able to hear the extremely important and detailed statement of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, that is, that part of Korea which hitherto has been denied this legitimate right.

Second, we have been able to observe important improvements so far as concerns the activities, or rather the cessation of activities, of the totally unjustified United Nations Commission on Korea. Much has been said about this Commission in the past, since its activities were directed against the interests of the Korean people. Therefore the Ukrainian delegation is convinced that this Commission should be dissolved by a decision of the General Assembly, as is provided for in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644, of which our delegation is a co-sponsor. It should not be dissolved by itself, as is provided for by its own recommendation, approved by the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645.

In our support of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644, we proceed from the belief that the dissolution of that totally useless instrument—the United Nations Commission on Korea—should not be accompanied by any conditions or reservations. This is precisely the attempt we find contained in paragraph 107 of the Commission's report, which says that this recommendation is made:

“...without prejudice to the accepted authority and competence of the United Nations within the terms of the Charter to take whatever action it may deem necessary, in the interest of preserving peace and security, to maintain political oversight of the situation in the Korean peninsula.” (A/9027, p. 25)

We believe that the Korean people has had its fill of the political supervision exercised through the United Nations. The whole futility and damage of such supervision have been so eloquently demonstrated precisely by the example of the Commission itself. If the United Nations really has an interest in the peaceful and just settlement of this problem in the interests of the Korean people themselves, it should first and foremost put an end to foreign intervention in its internal affairs without any reservations of whatever kind and give that people itself, and that people alone, the right to decide on its own destiny.

There are grounds for believing that one of the manifestations of this intervention, that is, the Commission of the United Nations on Korea, will be ended at this session of the General Assembly. However, there is another decisive step which should be taken in the same direction, and an end should be put to an even more odious manifestation of foreign intervention. That is, an end should be put to foreign occupation, illegally covered by the United Nations flag, and the so-called United Nations Command should be dissolved.

As for those who attempt to justify the presence of American troops in South Korea by using such a worn out argument as the danger of Communist aggression from the north, this is an argument which never convinced anyone in the past and stands even less chance of doing so today. And in this regard I should like to refer to the important and eloquent Memorandum of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, dated 26 September 1973, which states among other things:

"The Government of the DPRK repeatedly stated that it has no intention to 'invade the south' and, in reality, there has been no war between the north and south up to this date since the armistice. Where does the so-called 'threat of southward invasion' exist? Furthermore, the two sides solemnly declared internally and externally in the North-South Joint Statement that they would not use force of arms against the other. Under such conditions the pretext is completely untenable." (A/C.1/1034, Annex, pp. 63-64)

In this regard we find extremely reasonable the question which is raised in the same Memorandum: what protection does South Korea require from foreign troops, a country which maintains an army numbering 700,000 men and which furthermore is equipped with contemporary modern weapons, supplied by the United States? As was repeated by the Liberian representative today, the presence of United States forces in South Korea is on the basis of bilateral agreements between South Korea and the United States, and the United States will not renounce its bilateral obligations in South Korea. So these statements confirm that the United States troops are in South Korea on the basis of bilateral agreements.

What does the United Nations have to do with all this, then? If this bilateral deal with South Korea is on a bilateral basis, it should not be covered up by the United Nations flag and delude the American and Korean peoples. And the United Nations itself should not be misled. Call your troops in South Korea

American troops and not United Nations troops, and do not mislead world public opinion. Call your command of the American troops in Korea the United States Command and not the United Nations Command. The United Nations has nothing whatsoever to do with the American troops or their command.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has constantly and consistently pursued a policy of eliminating the military confrontation between north and south and has always pursued a course of deepening mutual trust and the creation of an atmosphere of national unity. With this purpose in mind, it made the proposals to halt the growth of the arms race and proposed the withdrawal of all foreign troops, including United States troops. It proposed the reduction of armed forces of the North and South respectively to 100,000 troops or even less, and a substantial reduction in armaments. It called for a halt to the importation of all kinds of weapons, military equipment and material from abroad and the conclusion of a peace agreement containing a guarantee that the aforementioned problems would be resolved and that the North and South would not use armed force against each other.

We can only regret that these, like other peace-loving proposals by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, have received no positive response from the authorities of South Korea.

On 4 July 1972 there was published the well-known Joint Statement of the North and South containing three principles for the unification of the country. We should like to stress particularly the significance of the first of those principles: that reunification should be achieved in conditions of independence, without any reliance on foreign forces and without outside interference. The importance of this principle for the national reunification of the country is difficult to overestimate. However, in agreeing with that principle, the South Korean authorities have, in practice, rejected it and have been pursuing a policy of depending on foreign forces. Furthermore, the representative of South Korea, in his statement of 15 November, stated that:

"...the withdrawal of the United Nations ... forces in the absence of effective alternatives invited tragic results."
(1959th mtg., p. 37)

What logic is that? How can one champion the idea of reunifying the country and at the same time justify the presence of foreign troops in one part of the country? Against whom will those troops be used? The withdrawal of foreign troops from

South Korea is precisely the first essential condition for eliminating tension and creating conditions propitious to the unification and peaceful democratic development of Korea.

In the light of that fact the Government of the DPRK has every reason for stating in its memorandum:

“If the South Korean authorities take the road of perpetuating the national split by more tightly clinging to the outside forces in defiance of the opposition of the entire Korean people, it will not preserve tranquillity but further aggravate the distrust and antagonism among the nation.”

(A/C.1/1034, Annex, p. 52)

It is quite clear that the presence of American troops in South Korea will lead to the preservation of tension in the Korean Peninsula and will impede the holding of dialogue between the South and the North and the reunification of a divided country. It is also quite clear that there are no United Nations troops as such in South Korea; what we have there are foreign American troops illegally using the name and the flag of the United Nations.

It is therefore the duty of the United Nations to put an end to this entirely abnormal situation which has existed for far too long. We should not close our eyes to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations have nothing whatsoever to do with the dispatch of those troops or with their activities in South Korea.

The opponents of the withdrawal of troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the “United Nations Command” assert that, as they see it, that would interfere with the stability of the Armistice Agreement. But we cannot agree with that, because the Agreement itself — and in particular its article 60 — provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea. If the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645 really believe — as they assert in the last paragraph of the preamble — “that the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953 still remains indispensable to the maintenance of peace and security in the area”, why do they reject the necessity for implementing article 60 of the Agreement which provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops? So, it seems that the reference to that Agreement is necessary only to distort the spirit and the letter of that document so that they can continue their old, unjust policy, that is, maintaining the presence of American troops in South Korea; because that is precisely what underlies the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645. Despite all the lip

service it pays to the communiqué issued by the North and the South on 4 July 1972, its welcome of dialogue between them and its wishes for peaceful reunification, that draft resolution really pursues the purpose of sanctioning the extension of the stay of foreign occupation and, therefore, does not promote the dialogue between the North and the South which it appears to wish to promote. It does not promote, but rather hinders, peaceful reunification of Korea. It attempts, particularly its operative paragraph 4, to act under the cover of the Security Council, which, duly in consultation with the parties directly concerned, should consider those aspects of the Korean problem that fall within its competence.

But it has already been pointed out here by a number of speakers that the armed forces of the United States are acting and have acted completely independently of the United Nations and of the Security Council, and without any control whatever being exercised thereby. Those armed forces do not report to the United Nations or to the Security Council and are not accountable to them. The very presence of those armed forces in South Korea is contrary to the principles and interests of the United Nations, whose flag they illegally use.

Why, then, was it necessary to refer to the Security Council? Why were those references not used earlier? Is it not because earlier in the General Assembly the voting machine was working very well, whereas now we have entered a period of moral rehabilitation where that machine is being worn out? It is difficult to believe the noble intentions set forth in operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645, which

“Expresses the hope that ... the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea consider membership in the United Nations...”.

In its Memorandum, the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea has stressed:

“The Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea considers it natural that the Republic should enter the United Nations. But it maintains the stand that it should not enter the United Nations before the reunification of the country in accordance with the unanimous will of the whole nation to prevent the division of the country and achieve reunification and that it should enter the United Nations as one Korea after the reunification is achieved or a North-South confederation is set up.” (Ibid., p. 48)

That is the clear-cut and definite position of the Democratic

People's Republic of Korea on this question. But the sponsors of this draft resolution want to add to the presence of foreign troops in South Korea another factor that would be an impediment to the reunification of the country.

United Nations history is full of instances of discrimination against a number of countries which have been illegally denied entry into this Organization; but now we have a genuinely unprecedented phenomenon here in which the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is having membership of the United Nations practically imposed upon it—the very same country which, only yesterday, was denied the right to take part in the discussion of a question so intimately connected with the fate of the Korean nation. A strange metamorphosis has taken place: what started as flagrant discrimination with regard to membership of the United Nations has now been changed into an invitation to apply for membership.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645 does pay a tribute to the principle of universality. On the surface it would seem that there has been a genuine dramatic change in the views and positions of the countries concerned in the Korean question; however, only those who were naive could possibly believe that. The draft resolution sings the same old refrain to the same tune—invite both Koreas into the United Nations in order to perpetuate the division of Korea with the help of this Organization. But we should not forget that the United Nations has already been used once for the division of Korea, for foreign occupation of the South and for covering up that occupation. Now, as has already been said, the United Nations should wipe from its record that shameful blemish, that blot on its escutcheon, and, as far as it is able, promote the creation of conditions that would be propitious for the speedy, independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. And this would mean: firstly, the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea; secondly, the elimination of the right to the use of the United Nations flag by foreign troops stationed in South Korea and the dissolution of the United Nations Command; and thirdly, an acknowledgement that all foreign troops stationed in South Korea should be withdrawn so that further steps can be taken to accelerate an independent, peaceful reunification of Korea.

In the conviction that this is the only correct and promising course of action, the Ukrainian delegation, together with 34 other delegations, has become a co-sponsor of the draft re-

solution in document A/C.1/L.644. Our co-sponsorship is one further expression of the solidarity of the Ukrainian SSR with the just struggle of the Korean people for the elimination of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Korea and for giving effect to the just and legitimate aspirations of the Korean nation — the independent, peaceful reunification of its country.



HAISSAM KELANI

Syrian Arab Republic

First of all I should like to welcome most warmly the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Li Jong Mok. After having overcome numerous obstacles, the United Nations has at last officially and for the first time invited the delegation of the DPRK to take part in the discussion on the question of Korea. This is a victory for the Korean people and also for the peoples of all peace-loving and justice-loving nations.

In the course of the conference held in Moscow in 1945, the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom decided once again to make of Korea an independent State and to develop the country along democratic lines, and, to that end, to set up as soon as possible a provisional democratic Government in Korea. In 1947 the Government of the United States unilaterally annulled the decision of the Moscow conference between the three Foreign Ministers, included the Korean item on the agenda of the second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and devised a resolution to send the temporary United Nations Commission for Korea to that country.

Thus lengthy debates on the Korean question started in the United Nations, debates which are as much a catastrophe for the Korean people as they have been for the Organization itself. Yet the Korean people founded the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in September of 1948 through general elections which united the country against colonial slavery and the manoeuvres of other countries. On the request of the Government of the DPRK, the Soviet army withdrew entirely from Korea at the end of 1948. This created more favourable conditions for a solution of the Korean problem by the Korean peo-

ple themselves. The American army, for its part, refused to withdraw from South Korea. Having provoked a war of aggression in Korea, the United States manufactured resolutions on behalf of the United Nations in order to be able to place the United Nations labels on the helmets of its United States forces. A series of failures and defeats took place. The Korean people, in their struggle for freedom, received assistance from many countries, and in July 1953 the United States was forced to sign the Armistice Agreement. Once the armistice was signed, then it almost became possible to solve the Korean question by peaceful means. The Government of the DPRK has done everything it sincerely could, since the first days of the artificial division of its country because of the arrival of United States forces in Korea, to assure as far as possible a unification of the country in independence and along democratic lines, and by peaceful means. That Government and the social and political parties of the northern portion of the country in those days submitted almost 130 different proposals to ensure the peaceful unification of the country.

At the beginning of 1970, the situation again had evolved and favourable conditions existed to speed up the peaceful unification of the country. The Government of the DPRK again made proposals comprising eight points leading to the unification of the country. Once again the Government of the DPRK took the initiative by making new proposals on 6 August 1971. President Kim Il Sung made a new and novel proposal concerning negotiations between the North and the South in order to break the vicious circle in which relations between the two parts of the country found themselves. Thanks to those persistent and peaceful efforts, and also to the proposals imbued with justice that had been made by the DPRK, more particularly at the time of the historic statement of 6 August by President Kim Il Sung the deadlock was finally broken between the North and South and contacts and dialogue once again became possible.

After this, secret talks got under way between the North and the South at a high level, quite independently of those being held between the Red Cross of North Korea and the Red Cross of South Korea. They led to a joint North-South Statement containing the three main principles of national unification.

In the course of the meetings of the co-chairmen of the North-South Co-ordinating Committee and immediately thereafter, at the meetings that the Committee held at three different times, the DPRK proposed to study the ways of assuring

collaboration between the North and the South in political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields. It also proposed concrete means whereby to implement the three principles for national unification. However, no significant progress was achieved in the course of the dialogue between North and South, and I have reached the point of wondering why — instead of progressing in the dialogue between North and South that began with such enthusiasm and with such hope on the part of the Korean people as a whole, as well as of the peace-loving peoples all over the world — these dialogues led to a stalemate?

The main reason was that foreign forces, from their position of strength in South Korea, continued to occupy South Korea and to interfere in the affairs of Korea, and both covertly and overtly interfered in the dialogues.

The proposals of the South Korean authorities — supported by the United States — for the admission of the two Koreas to the United Nations reveal a divisive policy.

The proposal submitted by a number of countries in document A/C.1/L.645 concerning the simultaneous admission of the two Koreas to the United Nations again faces the Korean people with that very grave alternative — the final division of the country or its unification.

For the sake of peace and logic, the road to unification is that of patriotism, of independence and of prosperity. The road of division is that of national ruin. The overwhelming majority of the Korean people do not feel that there is any justification for the division of their State — which was originally one country — into two parts but feel that unification should be achieved without delay. But while foreign troops remain on South Korean soil, while the policy of turning South Korea into a colony continues and while a military base is maintained there, the population will continue to resist oppression, colonialization and the forces from outside; otherwise, it will mean that one part of the Korean people will be denied its right to self-determination. If that should be the course of events the situation in Korea will not tend towards stabilization of peace but, rather, will lead to a series of complex and acute confrontations and will always threaten peace all over Asia. That is why my delegation considers it natural that Korea should be admitted to the United Nations, but we continue to contend that there must be prior unification of the country. For that reason, Korea must enter the United Nations as a single State, either after unification or

after the creation of a confederation bringing together the North and the South.

In order to achieve the unification of Korea in independence and by peaceful means, foreign troops which divide the South and the North must be withdrawn; the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea must be dissolved; and an end must be put to all forms of foreign interference in the domestic affairs of Korea and the concern over settlement of Korean questions must be left to the Korean people themselves.

The United States argues that its troops are maintained in South Korea to protect them from the threat of a Northern invasion; but that is an absurd pretext, because the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has, more than once, stated that it had no intention of invading the South — and, in fact, thus far there has been no war between the North and the South since the Armistice was signed. Where, then, lies the threat of invasion from the North? The two parties have solemnly declared in their joint North-South statement that they would not resort to weapons or force against one another. That being the case, the United States pretext is completely unfounded.

My delegation considers that the United Nations should take measures in the course of the present session to withdraw from the American troops stationed in South Korea the right to use the title "United Nations forces", to ensure their withdrawal and also to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. The United Nations must also put an end to the conspiracies that are designed to maintain the division of Korea. In so doing the Organization would then be truly contributing to the unification of Korea and facilitating its unification by peaceful and democratic means in accordance with the present trend to independence and peace.

Furthermore, the summit Conference of the non-aligned countries, held in Algiers at the beginning of September of this year, was seeking the same end when it decided unanimously to adopt the resolution in which it

"Calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea and an end to foreign interference in all its forms in the domestic affairs of Korea;

"Further calls on the United Nations General Assembly, at its twenty-eighth session, to consider the question of Korea and to decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops

stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and on the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea;

“Declares that Korean membership in the United Nations can only be achieved in the name of a single State, after the complete reunification of the country or after the establishment of a confederation of North and South.”

My delegation feels, in the light of all this, that the draft resolution on the question of Korea in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, submitted by 37 countries, including the Syrian Arab Republic, is entirely consonant with the interests of peace in Asia and in the world. We therefore whole-heartedly support that draft resolution and urge members of the Committee to do likewise.



ION DATCU

Romania

The Romanian delegation, speaking on the item entitled "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea", is doing so out of a desire to make, as other delegations have made, a constructive contribution to the solution of the problems

relating to the inalienable right of a nation — the Korean nation — to take charge of its own destiny and to define the conditions of its existence, without any outside interference.

The inclusion of this item in the agenda of the General Assembly and the participation of a great number of countries in the debate demonstrate the importance and relevance of this problem which we are now considering and, at the same time, constitute the expression of the profound changes that have occurred in the world in general and in Korea in particular. Our debate is designed to demonstrate concretely that the United Nations, in keeping with the Charter and the purposes and principles for which it was founded, is sensitive to these positive changes and wishes to help to stimulate them and create the necessary conditions to accelerate them.

Firmly attached to the ideals of liberty and progress, having itself throughout centuries waged a continuous struggle to bring into being a unitary and independent State, the Romanian people has constantly championed the right of the Korean people to take charge of its own fate. Romania has, over the years, demonstrated its complete solidarity with the tireless efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people to overcome the artificial division of the country and to realize their aspirations of national unity.

After more than two decades of efforts to give some meaning to the discussions in the United Nations on the problem of Korea, by participation in the debate of authentic represen-

tatives of the Korean people, we note with satisfaction the invitation which has been issued for the first time without conditions to the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in the examination of problems concerning Korea. The Romanian delegation warmly welcomes to this debate the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the messengers of a friendly people with which the Romanian people enjoys fraternal relations, relations of friendship and solidarity. The presence of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in this room is a triumph of reason; it constitutes the victory of a just cause and implies the recognition of the error committed by those who for years arbitrarily prevented the representatives of one of the parties directly concerned from examining the Korean problem in the United Nations and participating in that examination.

In issuing this invitation this year, our Organization has done an act of justice and has put an end to an attitude of discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. At the same time, an indispensable condition has been met so that the United Nations itself can play a positive role in the settlement of the Korean problems. It is one more concrete expression of the requirements of contemporary political realities under which the lasting settlement of any problem can be found only with the participation of all those directly concerned and when due account is taken of the interests of the parties.

The Romanian delegation would like to extend its warmest congratulations to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by the Vice-Foreign Minister, Comrade Li Jong Mok, and to express its appreciation for the great contribution which this delegation has made to the examination of this problem.

Romania has constantly been in favour of creating conditions to enable the Korean people to solve its problems itself. The restoration of the national unity of Korea, on democratic and peaceful foundations, is an internal matter which should be solved exclusively by the Korean people without any outside interference in the exercise of that people's inalienable right to decide its own destiny freely.

For thousands of years the Korean people has lived in harmony and has created on one and the same territory its own unitary culture, with the same customs and speaking the same language. The artificial division of the country with the parade

of suffering on a national scale was from the beginning, unacceptable to the Korean people.

As was stressed by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at the beginning of our debate:

"...the temporary division of Korea was caused by some inevitable reasons. It was only due to the interference of outside forces that Korea was divided, and it is the interference of outside forces that has prevented Korea from achieving its reunification to date." (1957th meeting, p. 31)

The proclamation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — the result of a long drawn out heroic struggle waged against foreign occupiers in order to achieve national liberty and independence — constituted an event of tremendous importance for the destiny of the Korean people.

Simultaneously with the remarkable success registered in the building of a new society, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea attaches great importance to the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the whole Korean people for the peaceful, democratic and independent reunification of their country. Throughout the years the constant concern of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve this was manifested in many proposals and realistic initiatives, and in constructive efforts which finally led to the adoption on 4 July 1972 of the Joint North-South Statement. Independence, peaceful reunification and national unity — those are the three principles enshrined in this Statement, which reflects the will of the whole of the Korean people.

From the very first day Romania saw in the Joint Statement — which provides for action to improve relations between the North and the South of Korea and establishes the principles for the reunification of the country — in the agreements between the Red Cross Organizations and in the other measures resulting from the talks between the two parties events that could profoundly affect the present and future of the Korean people and contribute greatly to peace and security in the region and throughout the world. My country appreciated very much the political initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the problems of the peaceful reunification of the country which opened the way towards the intensification of relations between the North and the South of Korea, with a view to the peaceful reunification and the unitary development of the Korean nation.

This year a new initiative, with particular significance, was put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which on 23 June presented a five-point programme for the unification of the country. This programme provides for: first, eliminating the military confrontation and reducing tension between the North and the South; secondly, establishing co-operation and multifaceted exchanges between the North and the South in the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields; thirdly, convening a national assembly composed of the representatives of the various sectors of the population and of all the political parties and social organizations in the North and the South so that dialogue can begin at the national level; fourthly, establishing a North-South federation which would be called the Confederal Republic of Koryo; and fifthly, preventing the division of the country into two Koreas from being permanent and ensuring that North and South act jointly in foreign relations and resolutely oppose any manoeuvres to fabricate two Koreas.

Warmly welcoming this initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on behalf of the Romanian people our Head of State, the Chairman of the Council of State of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in a message addressed to the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Kim Il Sung, stated:

"We appreciate your recent constructive proposals relating to measures designed to bring about a rapprochement between the North and the South and prevent the division of Korea and to contribute to the reunification of the country, which we believe constitute further eloquent proof of the consistent position of principle of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the DPRK, for the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people to live in a unitary State created by the efforts of the whole of the Korean nation by peaceful and independent means, without any outside interference."

The Joint Statement and the principles established between the North and the South illustrates once again the validity and the effectiveness of contacts, of direct dialogue and political negotiations in solving controversial problems no matter how complicated they may be — a method which is becoming more and more appropriate today.

Today, when the Korean people has offered to the whole

world satisfactory proof that it is firmly resolved to go forward, by initiating practical measures towards the achievement of its supreme ideal, that of its reunification and the elimination of a hotbed of tension, the United Nations should in its turn act in the light of its political and moral duty under the Charter to facilitate that process.

In the debate at this session two different approaches have emerged, two concepts of the role of the United Nations in the creation of favourable conditions for accelerating the independence and the peaceful reunification of Korea.

One approach, in keeping with the Charter and its principles, maintains that it is necessary to allow the Korean people itself to resolve its internal affairs and proposes to encourage a dialogue between North and South in order to bring about national unity by peaceful and independent means. Its objective is to facilitate the efforts of a nation to consolidate its place in the international community, in keeping with its own will, free from any foreign intervention.

The second approach is one which attempts to continue the already outmoded course of using the United Nations to justify and perpetuate intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people, the division of the nation and its subordination to foreign interests.

The two different approaches are reflected in the two draft resolutions. The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 provides, as was made clear in the cogent statement of the representative of Algeria, Mr. Rahal, of 14 November, for the legitimate demands of the Korean people in keeping with their aspirations and their vital interests.

As experience has shown, the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has done practically nothing to promote or support the interests of the Korean nation. On the contrary, it has turned out to be an obstacle to the peaceful unification of the country. The very creation of the Commission was an illegal act, a foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the country, contrary to the principles of the Charter, which forbids the Organization's intervening in matters which are essentially within the national competence of a State.

The examination, over the years, of the mandate of the Commission has served only to perpetuate foreign intervention in Korea. Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly over

the years without the presence at the debate of one of the parties directly involved were ipso facto doomed to failure.

Today, in the face of the clear failure of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the Commission itself has proposed its own dissolution. That conclusion is a recognition of the uselessness and the dangerous nature of its activities. That logic, we believe, should be applied also to the question of other United Nations activities in Korea where, as experience has shown, the United Nations has been used as an instrument to serve certain interests extraneous to the purposes for which this Organization was founded.

Romania has consistently favoured the abolition of the right of foreign troops stationed in South Korea to use the United Nations flag, and we have also been in favour of dissolving the United Nations Command.

From the point of view of the provisions of the United Nations Charter, the creation of the United Nations Command in Korea under the aegis of the United Nations was illegal. As we know, the unified Command has never operated as an organ of the United Nations, under the authority of a principal organ of the Organization. Its activities were carried out outside the control of our Organization and the right to use the cover of the United Nations flag was granted to it quite arbitrarily. So the troops which, under the cover of the United Nations, have been occupying South Korea for more than 20 years have borrowed a name which does not belong to them. The United Nations has never had any kind of dealings, political, military or financial, with those troops. The nomination and recall of the so-called United Nations Commander, the financing of expenditures for the maintenance of those troops and all and any other problems relating to their status and functioning have been and are decided elsewhere, without any consultation of the United Nations.

The restoration of law and order requires, as called for in the draft resolution of which Romania is a co-sponsor (A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1) the abolition of the right of foreign troops stationed in South Korea to use the United Nations flag.

In the view of the Romanian delegation, the withdrawal of all foreign troops is an essential precondition for the creation of the necessary conditions required for the process of the peaceful and independent unification of the country. We entirely agree with the view of the delegation of the Democratic People's Re-

public of Korea which, in its statement of 14 November this year, said:

"The continued occupation of South Korea by foreign troops is a violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, which envisages the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, and a contravention of the North-South Joint Statement, which provides for reunifying the country independently, without the interference of outside forces." (1957th meeting, pp. 51 and 52)

In the course of this debate it has sometimes been maintained that the withdrawal of the right of foreign troops to use the cover of the United Nations and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command would endanger the peace which now exists in Korea. We consider, on the contrary, that lasting peace in Korea can be based only on the will of the North and the South to renounce the use of force, to reduce their armaments and military strength and to negotiate a peace treaty; and certainly no peace in Korea — in fact, no peace anywhere — can ever be based on the presence of foreign troops. The danger of war can be reduced only if foreign troops are withdrawn from South Korea, because in the Joint Statement of 4 July 1972 the North and the South agreed not to confront each other and to prevent any armed conflict, great or small. The Joint Statement thus represents a guarantee for the maintenance of peace in Korea. Furthermore, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposed the conclusion of a peace agreement between the North and the South which could replace the Armistice Agreement.

What do the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645 offer? In the final analysis they offer two things, both unacceptable: the perpetuation of the division of the country and the prolongation of foreign intervention under the cover of the United Nations in the internal affairs of Korea.

The proposal for the simultaneous admission to the United Nations of two Korean States is, as many delegations have pointed out, a manoeuvre designed to consecrate the division of the country and prevent the continuation of the dialogue to bring about the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. The Romanian delegation resolutely opposes any such recommendation. The United Nations cannot and must not be used as a screen for actions contrary to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. Attempts to use analogies involved in other situa-

tions which have been created as a result of entirely different conditions can convince no one. Generally speaking, the proposal to admit the two parts of Korea to the United Nations simultaneously and separately is incompatible with the very purpose of our debate, which is to bring about favourable conditions to accelerate the independence and the peaceful unification of Korea. To accept such a proposal would be to erect new obstacles to the unification of Korea and divert the attention of the United Nations from the solutions which the Korean people are awaiting.

Romania is categorically in favour of leaving the Korean people themselves to realize their own aspirations to live freely and independently in a unified, democratic and prosperous country.

By giving a favourable response to the proposals advanced by the co-sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, the United Nations would be showing the peoples of the world that, in drawing the conclusions of the lessons of history, it has been able to overcome its own weaknesses and mistakes and is capable of acting in keeping with the major changes occurring today in the world. In accepting these ideas the United Nations would be doing justice and equity to the Korean people, which has suffered for so long, and contributing to the efforts of mankind to eliminate hotbeds of tension and conflict. Better conditions would thus be created for the progress of the Korean people towards the objective it has set itself, that is, the bringing about of a unitary Korea, a peaceful and democratic nation, in accordance with its fundamental aspirations.

The struggle of the Korean people for its national unity is an integral part of the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, colonialism and foreign intervention. The sustained efforts of the Korean people to bring about the peaceful unification of its country enjoy the growing sympathy and support of the peoples of the whole world. A vibrant expression of this support is the position adopted by the Algiers Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, in which most States of the Organization participated. This Conference called upon the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly

“...to consider the question of Korea and to decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and on the dissolution of the United

Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent unification of Korea;”.

In agreeing to such measures, the United Nations would be giving concrete proof that it has understood its role and that it is determined to put into practice the fundamental principles of the Charter and to make a positive contribution to the realization of the aspirations to peace, independence and national unity of the Korean people.



JEANNE MARTIN CISSE

Guinea

The felicitous changes which have occurred in the world, changes marked by the readiness of States to subscribe to the principles of peaceful settlement of the serious problems of today, open up a new era in international relations and in relations in the United Nations.

Thus, after more than 20 years of resolute struggle in international conferences and in forums of the United Nations, the peace- and justice-loving States have just won a resounding victory through the effective and direct participation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea in the discussion of item 41.

Before explaining the views of my country on the substance of the subject, permit me to convey my warmest congratulations to the delegation of the DPRK, headed by the Vice Foreign Minister, His Excellency Li Jong Mok, and to bid him welcome. The Republic of Guinea, on the morrow of its independence, established diplomatic relations with the DPRK and enjoys with that country ties of friendship and co-operation. Firmly attached to the principles of the self-determination and independence of peoples and respect for their sovereignty, our country was one of the sponsors of the proposal to include the item relating to the creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independence and peaceful reunification of Korea. Since my delegation is a co-sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, brilliantly introduced by Ambassador Abdel Rahal, Permanent Representative of Algeria, it is easy to understand why we attach such great importance to the problem of Korea.

For more than a quarter of a century, in spite of immense efforts, the Korean people have lived divided between North and South. As is indicated in the memorandum in document

A/C.1/1034 of the Government of the DPRK, only 20 days after the liberation of Korea United States troops landed on Korean territory to the south of the 38th Parallel, forcing the population to live separate from the people of the north. The objectives of this occupation, which was an act of arbitrariness and inequality and was contrary to the spirit of the United Nations Charter, fall within the context of the over-all plan of imperialism, which is to divide the peoples in order the better to subjugate them, a plan only too well known to Africa and the third world.

Hardly had it established itself in South Korea as a veritable conqueror than the United States army proclaimed a military government loyal to it, thus consecrating the division of the country against the will of the Korean people.

After this misdeed and, as it were, by the irony of fate, it was still the United States which, along with other countries, for the first time called for the inclusion of the Korean question in the agenda of the eleventh session of the General Assembly and succeeded in setting up a Temporary United Nations Commission for Korea. Thus there began, for the Korean people, a tragic period of division and, for the international community, a new problem and long debates, which were often acrimonious.

As if to vindicate the divisive forces of the Korean nation, the General Assembly, on 12 December 1948, stated:

"...there has been established a local government (the Government of the Republic of Korea) having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of Korea where the Temporary Commission was able to observe..." (resolution 195 (III), para. 2)

Since the unification of Korea had not yet been achieved, the General Assembly decided to establish a Commission on Korea which would lend its good offices to that end.

Since that time the people of North and South Korea and the rest of the justice-loving world have understood the significance of those statements.

After that period, as emerges from the Memorandum in document A/C.1/1034 of the Government of North Korea, a series of criminal expeditions to the North began. Under the cover of the United Nations Force, the United States Army operated openly in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter.

In the face of the irresistible pressure of the Korean people, which were determined to fight for the reunification of their country, in 1953 the United States signed the Armistice

Agreement with the North. Among other things, that Agreement recommended in paragraph 60 that in order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, there should be organized at a higher level a political conference between designated representatives of the two parts.

Faithful to its peaceful policy, the Government of the DPRK, in the years after the signing of this document, took praiseworthy political initiatives in a desire to normalize relations between the North and the South and to bring about the reunification of the Korean nation. Unfortunately, it was not until 1971 that dialogue was resumed between the North and the South. Full of confidence, and enjoying the unanimous support of the Korean people, the Government of the DPRK put forward during the discussions its eight-point proposal, laying down secure foundations for peaceful reunification. The proposal, which reflected the legitimate aspirations of the whole Korean people, unfortunately encountered the opposition of the South Korean authorities.

In spite of this reluctance on the part of the South Koreans to co-operate — a reluctance dictated by the presence of foreign troops on the territory — the Government of the DPRK reaffirmed its determination to continue the dialogue and declared itself ready to make contact at any time with all political parties, all social organizations and any individuals from South Korea.

The South Korean authorities, under popular pressure and in the face of the determination of the masses of the people, had to undertake a dialogue within the Red Cross organizations of the North and the South. Although this was still a very narrow framework, the results of the preliminary talks begun on 20 September 1971 were, nevertheless, encouraging.

Thanks to those talks, another high-level series of negotiations, held privately, was arranged, and this led to the Joint Statement of 4 July 1972, which was welcomed with hope by the democratic forces and which enunciated the following principles: to bring about the reunification of Korea in complete independence, without resort to foreign forces and with no intervention from outside; to bring about the reunification by peaceful means, without the use of arms by either side against the other; to further a great union of the nation, a homogeneous nation without ideological differences or distinctions as to ideals and régimes.

This important statement represented a decisive measure, for it indicated the desire of the two parties, to reduce tension

between the North and the South and to create an atmosphere of trust; to cease having resort to armed provocations, whether great or small, directed against each other; and, on the contrary, to undertake active measures to prevent sudden military conflicts. Furthermore, the two parties agreed to the establishment of a co-ordinating committee to resolve problems on the basis of the principles already enunciated.

Meeting in September of this year in Algiers, the fourth summit conference of the non-aligned countries unanimously welcomed this Joint Statement.

Both in the reports submitted to us and in the various statements, it has become quite clear that the Korean people wishes only for the reunification of its country. It therefore seems to us dangerous to advocate here the admission of two Koreas into the United Nations. For this reason, my delegation is violently opposed to operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645, which, if it were adopted, would consecrate the final division of the Korean nation.

To remedy an injustice that the United Nations itself committed, the Organization must assist the Korean people speedily to recover its national unity. It must help in achieving in Korea the objectives thus defined in resolution 2668 (25), operative paragraph 1:

“...the objectives of the United Nations in Korea are to bring about, by peaceful means, the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government, and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area”.

We are convinced that the members of the First Committee will vote unanimously in favour of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, of which my country is a co-sponsor, and will thus assist in bringing into being the just aspirations of the people of Korea.

My delegation reserves its right to speak again later on the amendments proposed this morning by the representative of Saudi Arabia, Ambassador Baroodi.



JOSEPH NDABANIWE

Burundi

Twenty-six years ago the United Nations was for the first time confronted with the Korean question in circumstances which interested and then revolted those members of the international community that were closely attached to the spirit and letter of the Charter. Agreeing to hold a debate on the question, adopting unjustifiable resolutions known to us all, our fledgling Organization deliberately violated its own Charter in interfering in the domestic affairs of the Korean people.

We believe it to be entirely normal that our Organization should today endeavour to redress the grave injustices it has since 1947 committed against the Korean people, and it is time, so far as the people is concerned, that we adopt a stand more in keeping with its fundamental aspirations, legitimate claims and interests as we all understand them. It is for that reason that my delegation is happy at the chance given our Assembly once again to consider the situation that prevails on the Korean peninsula and to suggest the necessary conditions for the establishment of a climate that will allow the Korean people in full freedom and independence to decide upon their own destiny.

My delegation considers that any just solution to this important problem must duly take into account the views of the Korean people. In other words, my delegation is happy at the participation in our debate of the representatives of all parties concerned. We warmly welcome the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a country with which we enjoy sincerely friendly relations and relations of fruitful co-operation.

At the very root of the Korean question — at the very root, that is, of the division of the Korean peninsula, of the separation of the members of the Korean family and of the chronic insecurity of the region, with the material destruction and the

losses of so many human lives — we find the will of the United States of America to create in the south of Korea a neo-colonial entity intended to serve it as a springboard and a basis of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, guilty of having chosen a political line and a social system as well as a way of life unacceptable to those on the other side of the Pacific. This will became manifest the day after the liberation of Korea and it was in 1948 that it was completed by the establishment by the military occupational authorities of a régime entirely feudal and subservient to the United States of America, that was only allowed to exist thanks to the material, military and diplomatic aid of its protectors.

The so-called United Nations Force in Korea is nothing but an American occupation force in Korea, entrusted with guaranteeing the security of the reactionary puppet régime established in Seoul, and by all means possible to stand in the way of the achievement by the people of Korea of their aspiration to reunification by peaceful means.

It is truly deplorable that the United Nations, with surprising docility, agreed to place itself at the service of a policy of aggression and occupation and thus lend its soldiers and its flag to the American military forces stationed in Korea. The attitude of co-operation and complicity of the United Nations in the Korean question seriously undermined the prestige and the authority of the Organization, an organization which the smaller nations and the weaker countries saw as the only way of confronting the policies of force of the great Powers.

The Korean people as a whole aspire to the reunification of their country.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has seized all opportunities to state that the reunification of the Korean nation constitutes a basic objective, and to that end it has made concrete proposals that were reasonable and practical. It has shown itself ready to consent to make all sacrifices, and it has also stated its readiness to make all possible concessions to achieve that ultimate objective.

Under the pressure of the masses of the people, the authorities of the southern region also declared themselves in favour of the principle of reunification. They recognized that Korea was artificially divided against the will of the people of Korea. It is true that they do not attach to national reunification any degree of urgency, or the character of priority question, but

what is important in our eyes is that they do see it as a national goal or target.

The dialogue started between the two parts of Korea culminated in the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972 on the reunification of Korea. That communiqué pleased and satisfied all the true friends of the Korean people.

But it is now the duty of the United Nations to help the people of Korea to achieve their desire to live in unity by peaceful means. The United Nations must create the necessary conditions for the free exercise of the right of self-determination by the Korean people, by encouraging the establishment of a climate of peace, of mutual trust, of national reconciliation and of co-operation without ulterior motives. It must help to do away with sources of friction and tension on both sides of the demarcation line, and to make of the 38th parallel not a boundary between two nations, but a bridge between North and South.

We believe therefore that all the foreign troops of occupation and aggression stationed in Korea under the United Nations flag must be withdrawn, and that the so-called United Nations Command in Korea must be dissolved without any delay. Apart from contributing to the maintenance of peace and security in the Korean peninsula, the so-called United Nations Force in Korea has devised ways and means of maintaining the status quo in Korea and of carrying out policies of provocation and aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

It has been contended that the withdrawal of the so-called United Nations Forces might seriously jeopardize peace and security in Korea by encouraging the DPRK to attack the south. Those who advance this argument pretend to be unaware of the fact that the DPRK has always, as far as South Korea is concerned, practised a constant policy of peace and of open arms. Not only has it abstained from any act of aggression, but the acts of provocation from the South have been responded to calmly and with dignity. It has refused to follow a policy of adventures, and as a proof of its attitude we can recall the Pueblo incident as well as other similar ones.

If the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had truly aggressive and annexationist plans regarding South Korea, it would never have proposed the peaceful reunification of the country by democratic means as previous questions, together with the cessation of the arms race, the reduction of the milit-

ary potential and the reduction of the military effectives in both parts of Korea.

Our Organization should also dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. We believe that that proposal should be adopted without any difficulty since the Commission itself, in its latest report, has concluded that it is now a useless organ.

My delegation has always spoken in favour of the principle of universality for the United Nations.

We are convinced that Korea, with its history and its rich and age-old culture, with its long experience of democracy, with its ideals of peace and feelings of profoundly rooted friendship of the people, is ready to make its precious contribution to the creation of a better, more just and more fraternal world, which is the ultimate aim of our Organization.

Obviously, after the publication of the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 on the reunification of Korea, my country is all the more firmly convinced that the admission of Korea to the United Nations must be, not the point of departure, but the culmination of the process of reunification of Korea. In other terms, my delegation is resolutely at one with those who advocate a single representation of the Korean people as a whole in our Organization.

Any other solution would be tantamount to perpetuating, to legalizing and to establishing for all time the intolerable division of the Korean people. Our Organization cannot take a step that is so contrary to its noble ideals and which so manifestly violates the noble principles of our Charter.

The Korean people is a mature, aware, responsible and sovereign people. Let us allow it to be master of its own affairs. Let us resist the temptation to violate its rights and to violate, too, its aspirations. Let us be ready to take note of and respect whatever decision it may adopt in all sovereignty, without any constraint, in peace and independence.

It is by acting thus that we will truly live up to the hopes that they have placed in us at this decisive moment in their history.



ALFRED J. BELLIZZI

Malta

The delegation of Malta would like, first of all, to associate itself with other delegations which have expressed pleasure at and have welcomed the presence amongst us of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which has hitherto and unjustly been prevented from

taking part in previous debates on this question.

The item before us on the question of Korea is once again on our agenda after a lapse of three years. Whilst regretting the inability of the General Assembly to come to grips with this question during its twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sessions, I should like to express the hope of my delegation that the opportunity now offered during the present session will not be missed and, indeed, that it will lead to a substantial measure of progress in drawing us all nearer to a satisfactory and peaceful solution in that important part of the world.

Although a discussion of the Korean question must of course take account of the historical facts which have given rise to the present situation in Korea, I do not propose to enter into a long historical review of the antecedents of that situation. The facts are well documented and well known to us all, and other speakers before me have dwelt eloquently on this point. I should, instead, like to concentrate on what seems to my delegation to be the kernel of the matter, that is, the burning desire of the Korean people to achieve national unity.

The ingredients of a peaceful and satisfactory solution were well expressed in the North-South Joint Statement issued on 4 July 1972, which was acclaimed not only by the entire Korean people but also by all to whom the cause of peace is dear. That Joint Statement endorsed three basic principles, each inspired by the common desire for national reunification. The basic prin-

ciples were: firstly, reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force; secondly, reunification should be achieved by peaceful means without recourse to the use of arms by one side against the other; and thirdly, great national unity as one nation should be promoted.

It will be noted that the keynote of those principles is the keen desire expressed by both sides to achieve national reunification. In turn, that desire is itself the expression of the national sentiment of the entire Korean people — a people rich in history, culture and tradition and with a remarkable sense of national identity which the historical vicissitudes of the past 70 years have only served to heighten.

In this situation and in the face of this significant Joint Statement, we must recognize that the continued presence in Korea of foreign military forces, whether under the guise of United Nations forces or otherwise, is inimical to the objectives of peaceful reunification. Without entering into the merits of the somewhat dubious genesis giving rise to the persisting presence in Korea of United Nations forces and the United Nations flag, I must say that it is abundantly clear that at the present time that presence is not conducive either to the prestige of this Organization or to the peaceful reunification of Korea.

With regard to the prestige of this Organization, it reflects no credit on it to come across press reports such as the *Reuter* message dated 11 May 1967, emanating from New York and openly describing the so-called United Nations Command in Korea as “an organ with US Generals and staff under US control”. In fact, it is common knowledge that the so-called United Nations Forces and the United Nations Command in Korea are nothing but euphemisms for national forces of a great Power stationed abroad in pursuance of national interests. As the representative of the Soviet Union pointed out in his statement to this Committee on 15 November, not a single report to the Security Council has been received from the United Nations Command in Korea on its activities there during the entire period of its existence.

As regards the goal of reunification, it is presumed that all Member States here represented genuinely share the aspirations of the Korean people to peaceful reunification. In view of the bitter controversy surrounding the United Nations role in Korea, is it not obvious that its presence in that country is having the effect of heightening, not reducing, tensions? Since when, may one ask, has the United Nations deliberately sought

to interject its presence not as a catalyst for peace and reconciliation but for recrimination, bitterness and hostility?

Whatever may have been the validity of the procedures which a quarter century ago led to the embroilment of the United Nations flag and the interjection of a United Nations presence on Korean territory — and, as I have said, those procedures appear to be at best dubious — there is no doubt at all in the mind of my delegation that in the vastly changed circumstances since that time, to sanction for one minute more the presence of foreign troops in Korea under the United Nations flag is not conducive to peace, is not in the interest of security, is not likely to promote peaceful reunification. How can foreign forces, whose very presence is seen as a threat to one of the parties, possibly contribute to a reconciliation between the two parties? And how can the United Nations, which indeed has a responsibility to encourage this process of reconciliation, have a positive role to play if it persists in identifying itself with one side against the other? If it is in the interest of certain Members of this Organization to maintain troops in Korea, let them at least do so openly and not behind the folds of the United Nations flag.

At least one major gathering of world leaders has already recognized the counter-productive nature of the United Nations presence in Korea. In a resolution adopted by the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Algiers in September last, the leaders of the non-aligned nations clearly expressed the demand that all foreign troops stationed in South Korea be withdrawn, and that all foreign interference in whatever form in the internal affairs of Korea should cease. Foreign forces have been withdrawn from North Korea since 1958 — 15 years ago; but, as far as foreign forces in South Korea are concerned, it would appear that time has stood still.

My Government is one of the original sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1. That is because we are convinced that in the interests of genuine peace there is only one road which this Organization can properly follow in the question of Korea. In our considered view, it is essential first of all to remove from Korea the anachronistic vestiges of the cold-war era, in so far as it lies within the power of this Organization to do so. In practical terms that means: first, the immediate and formal dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea; secondly, the withdrawal of the United Nations flag from the

foreign troops still in South Korea and the dissolution of the United Nations Command; and, thirdly, the recognition by the United Nations that all foreign troops should withdraw from Korea so that further steps may be taken for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

My delegation is gratified that at least as far as the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea is concerned the consensus in this Committee is favourable to the dissolution of that body. Such a step has in fact been belatedly recommended by the Commission itself. On the other hand, we are also aware of the attitude of several delegations which seem to favour a continuation of the United Nations Military Command. My delegation must confess that it is unable to follow the logic of that position. Logically, the political role could come into play only after the necessity of any military role had receded. This is the normal sequence of events in peace-making. In the circumstances of Korea, the political instrument, the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) has recommended its own dissolution as having no possible further role in view of the political accommodation already achieved by the Joint Statement of the two sides of July 1972. If therefore there is no further role for the political instrument, given the agreement of the two protagonists to achieve peaceful reunification and to renounce force, what possible role can there be for the continued existence of the military instrument, namely the Military Command? This is all the more obvious in the light of the proclaimed readiness of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to enter into a formal peace agreement with the Republic of Korea. Such a peace agreement between the protagonists is infinitely preferable to the existing Armistice Agreement, for the preservation of which the retention of the United Nations Military Command is advocated by the co-sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645.

Another aspect of the draft resolution which my Government has co-sponsored (A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1), and which is contained in its sixth preambular paragraph, refers to the eventual entry of Korea into the United Nations. In this matter my Government fully endorses the view expressed by the Heads of State of non-aligned countries, at their recent summit meeting in Algiers, that this can only be achieved in the name of a single State, after the complete reunification of the country or after the establishment of a North-South Confederation. It seems

to my delegation that if the question of admission to the United Nations is itself, as is evident, a matter of dispute between the parties, then we have no choice but to refrain from taking any action that could obstruct the movement towards the mutually agreed goal of peaceful reunification. Since one side to the dispute is extremely and, one may add, well foundedly concerned that simultaneous admission to the United Nations of two separate Korean States might constitute an insurmountable obstacle to the eventual reunification of the country, we cannot see any possible benefit from such simultaneous and separate admission. On the contrary, such a step would be fraught with danger. In the actual situation, admission can only come about as a single entity, after the unification of the country or the establishment of a North-South Confederation.

My Government maintains diplomatic relations both with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and with the Republic of Korea. We should have liked nothing better than to have before us a draft resolution jointly advocated by the two parties. Unfortunately this was not to be. In the circumstances, we fully support the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1. Let me say in all sincerity that our only motivation is the early achievement of the goal of peaceful reunification of Korea, in accordance with the Joint Statement of the two sides of July 1972. We are convinced that the achievement of that goal will be facilitated by the adoption of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1. That draft resolution is firmly grounded in justice and is based on a concern for peace and security and a genuine desire for the peaceful reunification of Korea. If we maintain relations with both sides, this does not mean that we must refrain from expressing an opinion about their disputes. One renders no service to one's friends by keeping silent when honesty requires a principled stand. It is in this spirit that we appeal to our friends from the Republic of Korea to renew and redouble their efforts to translate into practice at the earliest possible date the commitment which they freely undertook and which is contained in the agreed points of the Joint Statement of 4 July 1972, thus satisfying the long cherished desire of the entire Korean nation for reunification.

My delegation reserves the right to intervene again on the question of Korea in the light of the amendments introduced by the representative of Saudi Arabia to the draft resolutions now before us, as well as of any other amendments that may yet be introduced.



I. B. TAYLOR-KAMARA

Sierra Leone

My delegation associates itself with those who extend a sincere welcome to the representatives of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who, at the invitation of the United Nations General Assembly, are this day sitting side by side with us in this Committee to take part in the discussion on the question of the future of the Korean peninsula.

In September last year, my delegation, as one of the sponsors of item 96 of the provisional agenda of the twenty-seventh session, appeared before the General Committee, strongly urging that that item be formally inscribed in the agenda for debate by the General Assembly. My delegation made it clear then that that step would have undoubtedly made it possible for the General Assembly to debate the Korean question within a constructive framework.

The world body had warmly welcomed the efforts of the Governments of Korea to achieve by means of dialogue, understanding and negotiation the reconciliation of outstanding differences between them, and my delegation requested — and still requests — the General Assembly to assist in creating the favourable conditions required to accelerate the independence and peaceful reunification envisaged by the two Koreas. The General Assembly, however, decided to defer discussion of the matter to this session.

My delegation is also this year one of the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, calling inter alia for the creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the peaceful reunification of North and South Korea.

For over 2,000 years the Korean people have inhabited the Korean peninsula living as one political unit, speaking a common language and displaying common ethnic and cultural pat-

terns which so easily identify them as a nation and distinguish them from other nations. We must not now rush to divide this fine nation because of ideological differences among its people.

Division is not an answer to political disputes. Experience has shown that it only leads to further disputes and bitterness, and the peace we seek is by our own effort ironically further removed for the present. For when we divide a nation we not only give solid form to the existing ideological beliefs but also create problems of ascertaining and protecting boundaries. What compensation or consolation that will restore a part of togetherness shall we give to the families which will be cut in half?

Korea must therefore be one country, and my delegation supports the view that the peaceful reunification of Korea is the responsibility of the Koreans themselves.

In considering the two draft resolutions before this Committee, my delegation would wish first of all to comment briefly on the efforts which have already been made by both sides to put into operation that portion of the Armistice Agreement which provided for reunification.

In compliance with the provisions of the said Armistice Agreement, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea claimed that it continued to make proposals of different kinds to achieve a single desire and bring earlier reunification to the country.

These proposals, among other things, did not meet with the consent of the South Korean authorities.

My delegation is aware that preliminary talks between the North and South Red Cross Organizations started at Pyongyang in September 1971 and that, as a result of high-level North-South secret talks, the North-South Joint Statement containing three important conditions for national unification was made. Those conditions were: first, achievement of independent unification without reliance on outside force and interference; second, achievement of unification by peaceful means without resorting to the use of arms against the other side; third, promotion of a great national unity by, first, transcending all differences of ideology, ideals and social systems.

The Joint Statement further pointed out that the two sides agreed inter alia to refrain from slandering or calumniating each other and from committing armed provocation.

Although the question of the future of the Korean peninsula is becoming more and more complex and sensitive, my delegation is still convinced that, with guidance and the greatest sin-

cerity of purpose, something could be done further by both the United Nations and the Korean people, to restore international peace and security in Korea.

I should be remiss in my duty if I did not suggest to this Committee that, in considering the two draft resolutions before us, in documents A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 and A/C.1/L.645, it should not lose sight of its responsibility and involvement concerning the question of Korea. The principal objectives of the United Nations had been:

“...to bring about by peaceful means the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government, and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area. These objectives have been repeatedly affirmed by the General Assembly in a number of resolutions, the latest being resolution 2668 (XXV) adopted on 7 December 1970.” (A/9027, para.1)

In that context it intervened militarily in the events in Korea in 1950 and created the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea; it provided its flag as a cover for United States troops and other foreign troops stationed in South Korea; it declared repeatedly that its objective was to work for the unification of Korea and the restoration of full peace and security in that area.

In this twenty-eighth session, therefore, it would be the duty of this Committee to study fully and determine once and for all the means by which favourable conditions could be created to accelerate the independence and peaceful reunification of Korea.

My delegation is of the view that: first, the United Nations should not involve itself in discussing problems which both sides can solve without outside interference; second, the United Nations should take active and bold steps to dissolve as already recommended in the report (A/9027), the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which has outlived its usefulness; third, the Committee should support the withdrawal of United States troops stationed in South Korea in order to leave the Koreans alone to solve their problems; fourth, the two sides having agreed on unification all the way, their admission as members of the United Nations would make them two separate and independent nations, thereby prolonging rather than accelerating the reunification agreed upon. It

would also encourage further interference by outside forces in the internal affairs of the two Koreas.

In the circumstances, my delegation proposes to support the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 which is more in keeping with the aims and aspirations of the two Koreas on the subject of reunification. This does not in any way suggest that my Government chooses to be more friendly and more co-operative with the North. It is rather, an attitude consistent with the usual independent thinking of a non-aligned country to base decisions on the facts of the case.

In conclusion, I must say that a few States, like mine, which have diplomatic relations with the two Koreas, are very much concerned about the state of affairs in the Korean peninsula. It can be understood why, having genuine diplomatic relations with both parties to the conflict, my Government is most anxious to see them jointly achieve peaceful and lasting reunification at the earliest possible time.

My Government is always ready and willing to render any and every assistance which would help towards peaceful and lasting reunification.

My delegation has just been informed that a group of representatives is considering the introduction of an amended draft resolution which may have a chance of achieving a compromise on the differences between the two draft resolutions before the Committee. If such a draft resolution meets with the satisfaction and approval of both sides, my delegation will support it.



MOULAYE EL HASSEN

Mauritania

First I should like to welcome the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is here for the first time to present its just cause after having been denied that right for quite a long time. Its presence illustrates — even though that is not necessary — that the international

situation, stimulated by forces favouring peace, has developed to such an extent that this year it has not been possible to justify the postponement of the Korean item at every session until the next session. The practitioners of that procedural tactic have, as time has passed, seen a shrinking of their room for manoeuvre while the number of delegations favouring an open and objective debate on the Korean problem has been substantially and continuously increasing. Thus the frozen attitude which some attempted to maintain for several years has been unable to resist the trend based upon realities that are becoming more evident with each passing day.

Today we are more than ever aware of the damaging role the Organization found itself playing in Korea, a role it assumed in a very special context. It was supposed to promote the unification of the country, but in fact our Organization served to camouflage foreign occupation and, what is perhaps worse than occupation, the artificial division of a people involving, as it did, the splitting of one family and one community.

The delegation of my country is among those which have ceaselessly denounced those procedural delaying tactics and deplored the negative role of the Organization. We are happy today to see that this attitude has been broadly supported and hence is shared by a growing number of delegations.

To my country the Korean problem is not a question of sentiment and still less one of interests. It is a problem of justice, of equity. In a word, it is a problem of principle. In

raising the subject before the Committee today, we are guided solely by our concern for the truth and by our attachment to the right of peoples to self-determination—in other words, by our attachment to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

How can the Organization promote the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea? How can it contribute to the solution of a problem in which it became involved and for which it subsequently became largely responsible? Before I answer those questions, permit me to place the Korean problem within its historical perspective.

The division of Korea goes back to 8 September 1945. On that very day, the United States army under the command of General MacArthur occupied the whole of South Korea. The country was thus divided into two parts, and since that time rivalry between the two has been constantly promoted. My purpose is not to speak about the ups and downs of that occupation; everybody is sufficiently well aware of them. I shall just mention the way in which the United Nations was involved and how it assumed that responsibility.

It will be remembered that the search for the solution of many problems inherited from the Second World War was the source of that era of international relations characterized essentially by hostility and distrust. The spirit of the era was in turn reflected in all the resolutions of the United Nations which dealt specifically with these problems. So when the United Nations took up the Korean question it agreed to hear only representatives of South Korea under United States occupation. Because it was partial and partisan, that decision already contained within itself the germs of the tragic events which were to beset the Korean people in the 'fifties. In turn, those events gave rise to a new intervention of the United Nations. But this time the United Nations did not confine itself to an unjust decision with regard to the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The Organization decided to participate directly in the consolidation of the artificial division imposed upon the Korean people.

The creation of the United Nations High Command for Korea; the authorization of the use of the Organization's emblem; the existence of the United Nations Commissions for Korea—all were used to cover up and at the same time justify an occupation which was a *fait accompli*. A provisional demarcation line became a watertight political frontier.

Is there any need to remind members that all those decisions of the Security Council were taken despite the relevant provisions of the Charter? Indeed, Article 27 (3) of the Charter provides that decisions of the Security Council on all matters other than those of procedure shall be taken by an affirmative vote of nine members including the votes of all the permanent members. Obviously, that provision was not followed, because the resolutions were adopted in the absence of a permanent member. That absence was at once a protest against injustice and a refusal to countenance illegality.

That necessarily brief outline demonstrates — if there is any need for demonstration — that the anomalies that characterized the international situation of the time are all reflected in all the decisions of the Organization relating to Korea. If the Organization had simply reflected the anomalies of the time — well, one need not be too surprised at that. But the fact that it endorsed a single and unique thesis of which the principal purpose was to divide a single country and a single people for the sake of a foreign cause — a cause that was alien to the Korean people and had nothing whatsoever to do with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter — is something that we cannot accept.

That goes to show that the United Nations was, with regard to the Korean problem, the instrument of a policy of hegemony and of power that is itself based on a doubtful political theory. It is not for us to make a judgement on the value of that theory or of the contrary theories. But we do have the right and the duty to protest against the use of the United Nations as a means of carrying out any policy of power or dominations. And that is why today we call upon the United Nations to redress an injustice by taking the necessary measures genuinely to promote the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. Our call is all the more justified because the distrust and hostility which I have mentioned as characterizing the recent past are gradually giving way to co-operation, based upon concerted action and understanding.

Can the United Nations, without denying its own principles, perpetuate the consequences of an era of which it was the victim and which was throughout the period deplored by the international community? The response is clearly no, if we are really concerned for the interests of the United Nations and its role as an instrument of rapprochement and understanding among peoples. It is at least in this spirit that many delegations,

including my own, have submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1.

What are we asking the United Nations to do? To remain faithful to its principles and objectives, and particularly to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of a State. In particular the Organization should dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, for many reasons: first, because the responsibility assumed by that Commission is totally fictitious and it is difficult to claim that it has done anything whatsoever in terms of what was supposed to be its principal task. Simply to read its reports is very edifying — at least to anyone who in all objectivity wishes to make a judgement of the results achieved. And then two members of that Commission, which was originally composed of seven countries, left it or refused to participate any longer in its work, and this of course was certainly not a chance attitude due to fortuitous circumstances. We are sure that it was dictated by a refusal of the countries concerned to associate themselves with activities which had nothing whatsoever to do with the primary responsibility of the Organization.

But the use of the United Nations flag by the occupation troops in Korea and the existence of this High Command are even more damaging to the name of the Organization and its responsibility. To realize this it suffices to ask just a few questions with regard to those so-called United Nations troops in Korea: what is their composition, what is their command, what is the source of their instructions, their orders? We cannot expect an answer to those questions from the Organization, because the Organization has not troops in Korea. The foreign troops operating under the United Nations flag in Korea come directly under their Government, and carry out its orders.

In these circumstances we should call a spade a spade. These are foreign troops who have no valid link with the Organization, and their presence is an element of confusion and an obstacle to the reunification sought by the Korean people. Hence it is our duty to put an end to the abuse of the emblem of the Organization and to dissolve the United Nations High Command under whose cover the occupation troops have been operating. Those are the only just and objective decisions, because they are based not only on the principles of the Charter but also on the realities of the case.

Such is the core of our statement today. If it is the expres-

sion of a clear-cut awareness of the interests of peace, it is all the more justified by the evolution both of the international situation and of the very context of the United Nations. It is also justified by changes due to the objective and conciliatory attitude of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

On the international level, those causes which were the source of the Korean problem have been subjected to fundamental change. In the United Nations the number of Member countries has tripled since 1950, and we have seen the People's Republic of China resume its legitimate place in the Organization. It is on the basis of this positive trend and the desire which has been avowed both in the North and the South by the Korean people to bring about its reunification, that His Excellency Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, submitted on 23 June 1973 a five-point programme to clear away the obstacles to that reunification: elimination of military confrontation and reduction of tension between the North and the South; exchanges of all kinds between North and South; convening of a National Congress where all strata of the population and all political parties of the North and South would be represented; and the creation of a confederation between North and South which would be admitted to the United Nations under a common name. Those are the principal elements of this programme. Surely this is a programme on which no one here can cast any doubt, and its realistic and conciliatory spirit cannot be the subject of any doubt either. This would be a matter, in fact, of permitting the Korean people as a whole freely to exercise its right to self-determination, to decide in its full sovereignty on its own political and economic institutions, without any foreign intervention.

It is clear that those who oppose this programme are the same people who have more confidence in the strength of foreign bayonets than in the support of their own people. But here in the United Nations our duty is to see to it that every people can exercise its right to self-determination, because this is our principal task under the Charter. We should clear away all the obstacles to the exercise of this right in Korea.

Today more than ever we have the opportunity and the possibility to do this. To try to divert us from this objective by talking of the admission of two Koreas to the United Nations is to invite us to make of our Organization a divisive element and an obstacle to peace. Similarly, such admission would constitute a dangerous and unacceptable precedent for small countries

which have not yet achieved stability and cohesiveness and hence might find themselves divided and admitted as divided countries to the United Nations. It is precisely the awareness of this vulnerability of the small countries, and echoing the desire of the Korean people, that the Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers in September last, declared that the admission of Korea to the United Nations could come only after the setting up of a confederation between the North and the South. If Korea should decide to join the United Nations in the form of a single State, in the form of a confederation or even in the form of two separate States, that is its right and no delegation should have any cause to reproach it for that reason. But if anyone wishes to impose on it a solution to which it is opposed, that is something to which this Organization cannot possibly subscribe. If my delegation voted in favour of the admission of the two German States it was because that was the wish of the Federal Republic of Germany and of the German Democratic Republic. So let there be no more citing of an example which is different from the situation before us today.

This is the only just and equitable solution; the one which we, together with many other delegations, have proposed in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1. It takes account of the interests of the Organization; it is in keeping with the right of the Korean people freely to choose its own political and economic institutions and to decide its own future.



JACQUES D. TOGBE

Togo

I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the officers of the Committee on their election to preside over the Committee's work. I also wish to welcome the members of the delegation of North Korea, who are participating in the work of the First Committee for the first time.

After having studied the report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and after having listened with great interest to the many statements that have been made, particularly those of the representatives of North Korea and South Korea, and, finally, after having examined and analysed the many documents submitted to us, my delegation feels it necessary to make known its position in this debate on a matter so delicate and heart-breaking as the question of the future of the Korean people as a whole.

The present division of the Korean people against their will, the tragic consequence of the policies of hegemony and of blocs, unfortunately brings to mind the colonial policies of division of which so many countries in the world, including my own, were so often the victims. My delegation cannot under any pretext condone such a situation as a final solution, since it is unjust, inhuman and contrary to the Charter.

A policy of the arbitrary division of peoples against their will cannot be accepted as a principle of our Organization. That would flout the principle of the self-determination of peoples, one of the cardinal principles of the Charter. Our Organization would lose much of its influence and standing were it one day to become the instrument of division of peoples and nations.

Togo, true to its policy of friendship and co-operation with all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples on a basis of dignity and mutual respect, enjoys good relations with the Korean people, both of the South and of the North. The Togolese people,

which themselves were subjected to a foreign-imposed division and suffered from internecine partisanships and squabbles, have freed themselves from foreign domination and have followed irreversibly for the past seven years, a new policy — thanks to the position of dialogue, peace and national reconciliation and union taken by the Government of President Etienne Eyadéma.

The North-South Joint Statement of 4 July 1972 that followed the talks between the North and South Korean leaders constitutes one of the most positive elements to emerge during the past 25 years of violence, hostility and hatred that were fostered among a people which only desired peace. To achieve the unification of the Korean people without foreign interference and by peaceful means, to achieve national unity by transcending differences in ideologies and systems, as the above-mentioned Statement advocates, is only the solemn reaffirmation of what have been the main objectives of the United Nations.

At the present stage of the development of the situation we are justified in sincerely wondering whether those objectives have already been achieved. My delegation appreciates the true value of the efforts made by the Korean people, at the level of the consultative organizations, to achieve a normalization of relations and to encourage the development of a feeling of national fraternity, putting an end to mistrust and resentment. We believe that those efforts, which are only now beginning, should be pursued with greater determination and optimism, despite the difficulties and the present differences of view; that time and patience on the part of all sides will be necessary to achieve the noble objectives defined in the Joint Statement of 4 July 1972.

We consider that Statement to be a historic commitment to the world; it is a veritable rising of national feeling for unification and reconciliation of the Korean people in peace and national independence. Therefore our Organization, if it is to be true to its principles and objectives in the field, must more specifically assist the Korean people, which has solemnly decided to undertake ways and means of achieving its most legitimate aspirations, which 25 years of war and mistrust have not entirely stifled.

My delegation believes that at this critical moment, when the fate of an entire people is at stake, our Organization should avoid adopting hasty decisions which might not be in keeping with the higher interests of the Korean people as a whole and

which might irremediably crystallize the present division, which is itself a source of constant conflict, tension, hatred and foreign domination.

For those reasons, my delegation supports the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1.



LAZAR MOJSOV

Yugoslavia

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to say at the very beginning how gratified my delegation feels to have this chance to welcome for the first time in our midst the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, with which my country maintains close relations and co-operation, and to extend to them our cordial greetings.

For a long time the question of Korea was shut up within the framework of the cold war, of permanent confrontation, which blocked any progress in this sensitive area. For a long time there was no change for the better. For more than a quarter of a century after the artificial division of Korea, and for more than 20 years after the signing of the Armistice Agreement, the state of relations between the two Koreas remained unchanged and no significant step towards unification was taken. The present evolution of the situation in the broader Far Eastern region and, in particular, in the relations between the two Koreas reflects a process that has made it possible, after a long time, to examine this question in a new light.

The news of the first agreement on the opening of the process of unification by peaceful means and without outside interference was greeted with great satisfaction, because two small countries, parts of the same, divided nation, imbued with mutual antagonism and incited to conflict over many years, had succeeded in taking the first step along a lengthy road reflecting two equally positive processes: on the one hand, the easing of tensions in the world as a result of the realization and acceptance of new realities in Asia and in a broader area; and, on the other, the profound awareness by the Korean people of its national entity and the will of a people that was forcibly divided, in a complex of conflicting outside interests, to seek a

common language in its desire to achieve its unification, independence and peace.

The publication of the Joint Statement of 4 July 1972 was the result of these endeavours. Basically, the Statement contains three fundamental principles, namely, independence, peaceful unification and national unity. This Statement constitutes, in the opinion of my delegation, an important historical event in the efforts of the Korean people to achieve its unity. Further, it shows that Korea is one country, that the people of Korea demands unification and is capable of achieving this aim independently without outside interference.

The developments regarding Korea are very closely linked to our Organization. The direct responsibility of the United Nations in this problem is implied in several ways. The General Assembly has several times set itself the task of promoting the unification of Korea and the establishment of peace and security in that region. On the other hand, it intervened directly, militarily, in the events that took place in that country in 1950. It established the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), and foreign troops continue to be there under the flag of the United Nations. These facts raise not only the question of moral and material involvement in Korea and around it, but also that of direct political responsibility for a constant search for ways conducive to the solution of the question of the division of Korea, taking into account of course all the factors relevant to the further evolution of this problem. I think that I share the opinion of other representatives when I say that the new conditions that have been created today enable our Organization to achieve important results, of which both the world and the Organization itself are in great need. Precisely for that reason the presence of the representatives of Korea and their participation in our debates are indispensable for a correct solution to this question.

In solving this problem our Organization must proceed, first of all, from the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. One of the basic principles is the right of every country to solve its problems independently, in the spirit of the right of peoples to self-determination. In this concrete case, that means that the question of the unification of Korea should be left to the Koreans themselves, all the more so as it is clear that that is in accordance with their own will and they desire to take such a road. It is no secret that it is exclusively troops of the United States of America that are now

under the flag of the United Nations and that in spite of the presence of the United Nations Command and the United Nations flag, our Organization exercises no power whatsoever and has no control over those troops. It is high time to put a stop to this use of the United Nations flag and to disband the United Nations Command. Closely linked with this question is, of course, the presence of foreign troops on Korean soil. Every instance of the presence of foreign troops poses a threat to peace in that part of the world, menaces the independence of the people of Korea and has the effect of slowing down the process of its unification. The division of Korea over such a long period of time is precisely a result of outside military intervention. The outside factors that brought about the division of the country constitute at present the greatest obstacle to its unification. Consequently, it is incumbent upon our Organization to insist on the unconditional and complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea. The fact that foreign troops have left the soil of South Viet-Nam, where the war has just recently ceased, militates in favour of the indispensability of the withdrawal of foreign troops from the soil of Korea, where an Armistice Agreement was concluded more than 20 years ago.

The expressed will of the Korean people to take the fate of its country into its own hands and to overcome the dissensions and differences and all that hampers the final peaceful unification of the country proves beyond any doubt that the demand to disband UNCURK is fully justified. The Commission has lost its *raison d'être*; that is borne out by its own report, in which it proposes its own dissolution. Consequently, UNCURK had already died a natural death.

My delegation sees no reason for both Koreas to become Members of the United Nations. That would not promote the principle of universality in any way; on the contrary, it would further sanction the division of the country for an unforeseeable period of time, which is contrary to the desire of the people of Korea. It is the exclusive right of the Korean people itself to decide when it will apply for admission to the United Nations, and under what conditions — all the more so as there is a need for continuing the negotiations on unification and until such conditions are created there is no ground for the separate admission of the two countries to our Organization. Furthermore, according to the Charter the question of the admission of new Member States should not be considered by the First Committee of the General Assembly or the General Assembly itself prior

to the required procedure of considering it in the Security Council.

The Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held recently in Algiers adopted, among other things, a special resolution on the solution of the question of Korea as seen by the non-aligned countries, which represent almost half of mankind. In adopting the resolution on Korea the non-aligned countries called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea and the discontinuance of any form of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea, for the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and for the admission to the United Nations of one Korean State after its complete unification.

The draft resolution (A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1) now sponsored jointly by 35 delegations, including my own, fully reflects the actual needs of the Korean people. Its implementation would contribute to the creation of conditions for the unhampered unification of Korea and for the stabilization of peace in that region.



HUSSEIN NUR ELMİ

Somalia

My delegation would like first of all to welcome very warmly the members of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea who are attending a session of the General Assembly of the United Nations for the first time. Having listened carefully to the exhaustive and persuasive statement made before this Committee on 14 November by the Chairman of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, my delegation is convinced that their participation in the work of this Committee will make it possible for us to conduct a constructive debate on this important item on our agenda.

My delegation believes that this debate on the question of Korea is very important not only because it provides a long overdue opportunity for the United Nations to normalize its relations with the Korean people and to contribute towards their reunification but also because the debate has a bearing on matters beyond the particular question of Korean affairs. This debate, and its outcome, should show whether the world community has indeed abandoned the cold war, and whether the international détente on which so much emphasis has been placed during the general debate at this session has substance as well as outward form. I say that because the Korean war and its aftermath were the obvious results of cold war attitudes, and if the international climate has improved as much as is generally held to be the case then the world community should be able to dispense with the legacy of outdated policies in the context of the Korean situation.

It can perhaps be understood when governments and the statesmen who represent them are unable to see beyond the prevailing concerns, fears and suspicions of their times. The gift of objective vision that goes beyond the confines of a particular era is not given to many, and their voices are not the

ones that are generally heeded. What cannot be understood and condoned is that the opportunity to examine and profit from the mistakes of the past should be ignored and discredited policies blindly adhered to. The wisdom of hindsight can be valuable, and could indeed serve this debate in good stead at the present time.

The people of Korea, whose historical setting we all know, constitute a uniquely homogeneous people without any racial, cultural or linguistic minorities and, in fact, were always a single entity from time immemorial until the imperialist Japanese invasion in 1910 and the subsequent interference of other foreign Powers in the last 28 years.

The Korean people have the right to forge their own future and establish whatever political and social order they may desire. They should only be assisted to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of their country through negotiations leading to the achievement of their legitimate national aspirations. The accomplishment of such an objective will undoubtedly necessitate the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust, which could bring about national reconciliation in Korea. The recent developments in the region indicate that the Koreans themselves have already laid the basis for a point of departure in that direction.

But for us, the member nations of this Organization, what are the larger issues which we must keep before us in discussing the Korean question? Certainly it should be clear now that the international ideal of world peace and security is ill served when a major Power of one ideological persuasion seeks to impose its will on others which might wish to choose — and have in fact chosen — a different political ideology. To be quite plain, the assumption of the United States of America and its allies that their anti-communist crusade justified intervention in the internal affairs of States, and even of States far from their spheres of influence, led to the tragic wars which have taken place since the Second World War — the Korean war and the war in South East Asia involving the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos.

It should also be clear that the United Nations is not the preserve of any one political bloc and that it must not serve particular interests. It must strive only to be the guardian of human rights, of national independence and of international peace and security. A most unfortunate aspect of the Korean war, and one that concerns the substantive question of this de-

bate, is that the United Nations, which should have been the mediator and peacemaker, was coerced into taking sides in a cold-war issue because the United States at that time was able to use the world body as an instrument for its policies. This is a fact of history. The United States was able, for example, to keep China out of the United Nations for a quarter of a century simply because the legitimate Government of that major world Power was a communist one. With hindsight it can be reasonably argued that if the United Nations had been allowed to play its proper role, and if China had taken its proper place in the world body, the Korean war and perhaps also the Viet-Nameese war would have been avoided.

These attitudes and events of the past are relevant to the Korean situation today. First of all, it should be intolerable to the membership of the United Nations that the name of the Organization continues to be lent to an operation that reflects only the imperialist interests of one major Power. As we know, the pretence that the United Nations Command in Korea was an international effort has long been dropped. Its forces are composed of American soldiers; they are commanded by American officers; and they are funded by the Government of the United States of America.

It is a fact that there are no foreign troops in the area south of the 38th parallel other than those of the United States of America. The presence of such United States forces would seem in our eyes, in the eyes of the world and particularly in the eyes of all peace-loving peoples, to be an imperialist expedition, an army of tyranny and forces of war. Thus the United States is hindering the peaceful reunification of the people of the Korean peninsula. Furthermore, the garrisoning of a foreign army in a divided country inevitably makes war possible. The United States still maintains in effect the so-called Mutual Defense Treaty it entered into in 1954 with the puppet régime in South Korea which provides, among other things, that any attack against South Korea would constitute a danger to the peace and safety of the United States. In our opinion, there is no threat of war in Korea, and we cannot see how the security of one of the most powerful nations in the world could be endangered by events that may occur in such a remote region. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by such untenable arguments. If the obstacle of which I have spoken is to be removed, then the United States must withdraw its forces from Korea, for this is the chief problem which prevents the peaceful

reunification of that country. Curiously enough, there is a clear contradiction between the new American slogan of "Generation of peace" and the policy clearly aimed at perpetuating the division of the people of Korea. In this era of general international détente, the United States should cease instigating the Seoul régime to sabotage the unity and reunification of the Korean people.

The Korean people has always emphasized its desire for reunification and the United Nations is pledged to support it in attaining that goal, but progress towards that objective cannot be made while the military presence of a major foreign Power ensures a state of military confrontation. We find, then, that an operation carried out under the United Nations flag is actually hindering the Organization's stated goal of creating conditions favourable to the reunification of Korea.

It was once argued that the hostility between North and South Korea made the presence of foreign troops necessary to prevent further conflict. Now that the North and the South have entered into a dialogue for the purpose of establishing friendly relations and working towards reunification, that argument has lost any validity it may have had. The Korean dialogue includes such fundamental points of agreement as the principles which will be the basis for national reunification. It is significant that one of these principles is independence from outside forces or interference. The others are that reunification will be peaceful and that it will be fostered by great national unity. A North-South Co-ordination Committee to promote these aims has been established and the original point of contact — that between the Red Cross Committees of the North and the South — continues to be enlarged. Thus the machinery for rapprochement has been established and the North Korean Government has shown its will to work towards agreement for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

Why then are American forces under the United Nations flag, or under any flag for that matter, playing the role of international gendarmes in Korea?

It would seem to my delegation that the measure most urgently needed for the restoration of trust is the ending of military confrontation. Both sides agree that social, cultural and economic collaboration is important, but surely the North Koreans are taking a reasonable position when they list as a first priority the ending of military tensions. They have declared publicly that they have no intention of initiating a "southward

aggression"; they have called for the conclusion of a peace treaty and they have made specific proposals for the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments. These are all policies which contribute to the establishment of trust between the North and the South. There are other proposals of a fundamental nature which are evidence of the seriousness of purpose of the Government of North Korea with regard to peaceful reunification. It has called for the convening of a Great National Congress composed of people of all walks of life from both the North and the South, so that the dialogue on national reunification can take place on a nation-wide scale. It has called, too, for collaboration and interchanges, not only in economic and cultural fields, but also in political, military and diplomatic affairs.

In the face of all the arguments against the continued presence of the United Nations Command in South Korea, it can only be concluded that the policy which keeps it there is aimed at keeping Korea divided so that the South can continue to be a convenient base for United States political and strategic purposes. Such an aim is, of course, contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and to its further elaboration in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security; contrary to the United Nations pledge to support the reunification of Korea and, most important of all, contrary to the aspirations of the Korean people.

The effort to keep the Korean people divided can perhaps be seen also in the new emphasis now being placed in certain quarters on the separate but simultaneous entry into the United Nations of two Koreas. In our view, separate membership would only have the effect of solidifying the division of Korea. The Government of the Somali Democratic Republic has historically rejects this proposal. The North Korean proposal for Korea's entry into the United Nations, before reunification, as a single State under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo, seems to my delegation to be a realistic and sensible solution since it keeps the ideal of reunification to the fore, and at the same time recognizes that the existing systems of the North and the South need time to work out their differences. Certainly, in the matter of representation at the United Nations, as in all Korean affairs, it is the decision of the Korean people which must prevail.

The United Nations has made great progress towards the resolution of the Korean problem in that this full-scale debate is taking place — belatedly, it is true, but none the less appro-

priately. It is progress, too, that representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are participating in the debate on an equal footing with representatives of the so-called Republic of Korea. The draft resolution of which my delegation is a co-sponsor along with 34 other delegations provides the United Nations with the opportunity to carry this progress even further by correcting the mistakes of the past and assisting in the effort towards Korean reunification.

I have already explained fully the reasons why my delegation supports operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of the draft resolution, and it is the hope of my delegation that the Committee will give the strongest support to the proposals and approve them by an overwhelming majority.

As far as operative paragraph 1 is concerned — that is, the proposal for the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) — my delegation feels that the matter hardly needs discussion. That Commission, tied as it is to the interests of the United States forces in South Korea, cannot function with the objectivity that should be the hallmark of a United Nations peace-keeping operation. The dialogue between North and South makes the presence of the Commission a ludicrous anachronism. It has very rightly declared itself to be redundant and it is no longer supported even by the South Koreans or by the United States, which has also recommended its dissolution in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645 which that country has co-sponsored. The Committee should, therefore, decide forthwith, and by a unanimous vote, that UNCURK be dissolved.

In approving the provisions of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, the Committee will be endorsing the principle that the Korean people have the right to settle their internal affairs free from outside interference; it will be giving recognition to the fact that the Korean people have already begun the work of healing and reconciliation, and it will be affirming the validity of the present climate of international détente.



B.A. CLARK

Nigeria

My delegation does not see the Korean question before us as one pertaining to whether or not both North and South Korea should be reunited in freedom and independence. This is presumed. For the sovereignty and integrity of the Korean nation cannot and should not be debated by others,

but only by the Korean people themselves.

The Korean people are one and indivisible, united by ties of common paternity, culture, language and destiny.

Nigeria, faithful to its history and policies, will therefore not permit itself to tell the Korean people how they should conduct their current dialogue for national reunification, the guidelines of which they themselves enunciated with wisdom and foresight in their Joint South-North Communiqué of 4 July 1972. All we can do is wish them well and, of course, hope that they will soon overcome the disabilities and divisions imposed upon them obviously by the major Powers in the name of the cold war.

The major Powers, having emerged from their cold war fixations in a co-operative spirit, can no longer expect others, particularly the poor, powerless nations of the third world, to continue that war for them in a proxy fashion. The Korean war of 1950 to 1953 and the present unhappy situation in that beautiful nation are ruins and debris of the cold war. They are no longer relevant. A new united Korean nation has to be built on them by the Korean people themselves.

It is against that background that my delegation sees only three pertinent points in the draft resolutions in documents A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 and A/C.1/L.645. These points are: first, dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea; second, dissolution of the United Nations Command in Korea; and third, admission of Korea into the United Nations.

In our fast-changing world, it is little wonder that the Korean question has also evolved to the extent that the debates of past years are now of historical interest only. Everyone who loves the ideals of the United Nations doubtless welcomes the attendance of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at this session. My delegation has been equally pleased to listen to their respective contributions to our debate. We sincerely believe that their statements will assist us to reach conclusions that will serve the essential interests of the Korean people and nation.

With respect to the matter of UNCURK, which has been touched upon by them and by earlier speakers, my delegation could not agree more with the recommendation contained in the annual report of UNCURK in document A/9027 (Supplement No. 27) that it has outlived its usefulness and that it should be dissolved. Even without the creation of the South-North Coordinating Committee, my Government has felt for years that the Commission was an anachronism and that only the die-hard advocates of the cold war saw any right in its continued existence. For us in Nigeria, the cold war represented all that is scary in modern international relations. We therefore gladly lend a hand in burying UNCURK for good.

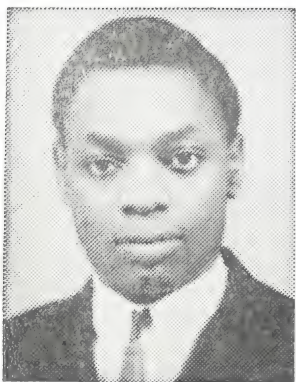
Nigeria is prepared to assist and will assist Koreans whenever they make genuine efforts towards reunification. Accordingly, we shall refrain from taking any step or saying anything likely to hinder the progress of their present dialogue and move towards reunification. It is because of this conviction that we do not fully appreciate how the remaining-in-being of the United Nations Command in Korea helps to bind and heal the wounds of Korea. The Command was established in 1950 for a specific purpose. Why allow the Command to continue after 20 years of suspect existence? Granting it was also a signatory party to the Armistice Agreement of 1953, the present composition and preoccupations of the Command can hardly justify its original intentions. The so-called United Nations Command in Korea is nothing but a misnomer for the United States troops in South Korea, deployed and directed, to all intents and purposes, in the interest of the United States. It is therefore anomalous and presumptuous for it to continue to fly the United Nations flag. It has no more right to fly the United Nations flag than the bands of white mercenaries which occasionally roam Africa in search of plunder and adventure. It is not accountable to the United Nations. It is a symbol of the cold war that no

longer prevails. It is no longer relevant. It should therefore be dissolved.

But that is not to say that the United Nations can no longer play a positive and impartial role in the solution of the Korean question. Of course it can. But that role cannot be military. Nor can it be in its present manifestation — that of an instrument of a great Power to advance its cause of imperium or to maintain its cold-war influence in the world, an influence unrelated to the objectives of the United Nations.

I now turn to the matter of the admission of the Korean nation into the United Nations. In this regard, we are pleased to recall Nigeria's initiative during the Lusaka Conference of Heads of State and Government in 1970, when the idea gained currency that all parts of divided countries, including North and South Korea, should be associated with the work of the specialized agencies of the United Nations family in so far as it enabled them to benefit from such an association without prejudice to their quest for national sovereignty and integrity; in effect, that they should be accorded observer status on equal and non-discriminatory terms. We believe that such a functional relationship accords with the reality of the international situation and respects the sovereign will of the divided countries concerned to reconcile and reunite and to agree on mutually acceptable terms for seeking admission into the United Nations. The German situation met this test. So does the Korean — hence the Algiers Declaration of the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries.

That test, the test of sovereignty; the test of mutual consent and agreement; the test that does not depend on external force or dictation; the test that eschews military confrontation; the test that recognizes the indivisibility of the national patrimony — that test is the precondition that Nigeria would like to see fulfilled in order to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.



BENJAMIN BOUNKOULOU

Congo

The delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo would like to take this opportunity to convey its most sincere congratulations on the most honourable way in which the Chairman is conducting the proceedings of this Committee.

On behalf of the Congo delegation we welcome the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is participating in the work of our Committee for the first time as an observer delegation. We are happy to note that the flagrant injustice of which the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was for so long a victim has been remedied this year. We should like also to express our pleasure at having had the opportunity of seeing and hearing the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea defending the just cause of the Korean people in the United Nations itself.

More than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the United Nations became involved in the aggression orchestrated by the United States and its allies against the people of Korea. Many speakers have eloquently recalled how the United Nations became involved in the question of Korea and we shall not go any further into details of that distressing affair. Using ignoble artifices and delaying tactics of all kinds, the United States and its allies succeeded in keeping alive in the United Nations a dangerous fiction by associating the United Nations with its criminal aggression against the hard-working people of Korea, who wish only to live united in independence and peace.

Today the People's Republic of the Congo, which has always denounced that moral crookedness, notes with satisfaction that many countries which love justice, peace and progress, aware of their responsibilities as members of the international community, have finally resolved to find ways of laying the

basis for real understanding between the North and the South of Korea with a view to the peaceful reunification of the country. It is within that context that we would place the numerous diplomatic successes achieved by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea over the last two years and the decision of the United Nations to grant it observer status after having so long been the victim of the most flagrant ostracism.

It is also within that context that my delegation would like to place the decision of the members of the famous United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea which, finally bowing to the imperatives of justice and history, has recommended purely and simply its own dissolution.

In our view the time has come for the United Nations to make a constructive contribution to the solution of the problem, bearing in mind both the Joint South-North Statement made public on 4 July 1972 by North Korea and South Korea and the relevant proposal submitted by Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who is an indefatigable champion of the peaceful reunification of the Korean people, particularly the eight-point proposal which suggests, *inter alia*, solutions which would be likely to create the optimum conditions for the independent and peaceful unification of the country; to ensure withdrawal of the United States occupation troops from the south part of Korea and to bring the armed forces of North Korea and South Korea respectively to a maximum of 100,000 men; to create a central unified government, following general elections which would be held freely and independently in the North and the South on a democratic footing; to establish, if need arises, a North-South confederation as a transitional step; and, finally, to organize a consultative political meeting between North and South Korea in order to make concrete the proposals mentioned above.

The People's Republic of the Congo firmly supports the just struggle of the Korean people and has always supported constructive, concrete proposals by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to create the necessary conditions for accelerating the independent and peaceful unification of the country. Today, again, the Congo delegation supports the eight-point proposals and the five-point proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, because they are in keeping with the right of peoples to self-determination. Indeed, we think it is the bounden duty of the United Nations to help the Korean people

to reunify its arbitrarily divided country. Our Organization should not erect obstacles to the accomplishment of that noble task which, after a quarter of a century of nightmares, offers the sons and daughters of Korea the opportunity to reconstruct together their fatherland.

For that reason the Congo delegation is firmly opposed to the proposal made by the United States delegation and some other Member countries to give credit to the dangerous and erroneous theory of the simultaneous admission of the two Koreas to the United Nations. In fact that proposal would have the effect of perpetuating the division of the country and keeping the aggressive American troops in South Korea. It goes without saying that such a situation, far from bringing peace and stability to the region, would on the contrary generate new tensions and incalculable risks and threats to international peace and security.

Today our Organization can effectively assist in the eradication of all tension in Korea and bring about reconciliation of the heroic Korean people by supporting unequivocally the admission to the United Nations of a single Korean State, either after unification or after the creation of a confederation of North and South.

The Fourth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers in September last, having noted with satisfaction that the people of Korea do in effect wish for independence and the peaceful and independent reunification of their country, supported the legitimate claims of those people by adopting a resolution on the problem of Korea. That resolution, which has already been mentioned by several speakers, calls for the withdrawal of the foreign troops stationed in Korea and the cessation of foreign intervention in all its forms in the internal affairs of Korea, the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, and the admission to the United Nations of a single Korean State.

My delegation objectively believes that the draft resolution submitted by the head of the Algerian delegation on behalf of 32 other delegations which co-sponsored the draft resolution should make it possible for the United Nations to meet the unanimous wishes of the Korean people for unity and peace. It is in the light of those considerations that the Congo delegation has become, once again, a co-sponsor of the draft resolution (A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1) which aims at settling this problem

finally and fairly. My delegation firmly hopes that that draft resolution will be supported by all those who really want to help the Korean people to bring about their reunification in peace, independence and friendship.



MOHAMED SAID AL-ATTAR

Yemen

May I at the outset congratulate the Chairman and the other officers of the Committee.

I should like on behalf of my delegation to welcome the members of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, led by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs,

Mr. Li Jong Mok, and to congratulate them warmly on the establishment of their official permanent mission as observers to the United Nations. I should like also to assure them of our fraternal co-operation.

My delegation, together with many others, has over a period of ten years in this Committee constantly urged that we also hear the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea instead of satisfying ourselves, as we had always done in the past, with hearing only one side, namely, the representatives of South Korea and the report of the United Nations Commission mistakenly called "the Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea."

In the course of my own statement in the First Committee at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly in 1969, I stated:

"The logical decision of our Committee should be to invite also the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. How can we objectively examine the question of Korea without the participation of both parties?

"The procedure followed for the past 16 years seems to us to be one-sided and unjust; it is in no way inspired by the spirit of the United Nations Charter." (1671st meeting, paras. 110 and 111)

The Committee will understand our pleasure at seeing our objective finally achieved. After a number of years of useless delay, this injustice has now been redressed because at last

our Committee has heard the voice of the Government of the DPRK and will thus be able to adopt decisions impartially. The presence here of the representatives of the DPRK constitutes a decisive turning-point in the annals of the United Nations and could well be the point of departure for a fresh consideration of the question of Korea in a manner more in keeping with the interests of the people of Korea as a whole and its desire for independence, integrity and reunification.

This is an undeniable victory for the people of Korea and also for us who have constantly and systematically defended the right of peoples to total independence.

For two and a half decades our Organization preferred to ignore the representatives of the DPRK and to interfere directly in the domestic affairs of Korea, thus flouting the principles of the Charter that solemnly recognize that all countries and peoples have the inalienable right to self-determination.

Decisions adopted previously by the United Nations on this question can today be judged severely, and the passage of time allows us to judge them impartially. The United Nations found itself embarked on an entirely wrong road, and this despite the protests and the warnings of a number of delegations, including my own, that were aware that the United Nations had made a bad start. Under the influence of certain Powers which knew perfectly well that their arguments were inconsistent, the majority supported the ostrich policy and took an absurd and totally unrealistic approach contrary to the principles set forth in the Charter.

Indeed, let us recall how the United Nations became involved in the question of Korea at a time — and this must be stressed — when the number of Member States was limited. It was at the height of the cold war between the great Powers that were antagonistic for reasons of ideology and global strategy. The United States did not hide its strategic objectives in Asia and all over the world. It had to find a subterfuge in order to consolidate its position and it therefore used the United Nations, which was illegally involved in a military intervention destined to perpetuate the division of Korea. And so the United Nations created for itself a Military Command in South Korea and a so-called Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. There is no need to demonstrate the irrefutable fact that the United Nations Command has nothing to do with our Organization and its Security Council since it has been and continues to be under the direct control of the United States.

With regard to the so-called Commission for unification, it had but one role to play, that of presenting a report to each session of the General Assembly which in no way reflected political reality.

It was in fact the responsibility of all the Member States that was thus involved, and they became more and more aware of the absurdity of the situation in which they had been placed. The latest Conference of the non-aligned countries held in Algiers last September recalled this situation in its resolution calling on the United Nations:

“...to consider the question of Korea and to decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and on the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea;” and

“Declaring that Korean membership in the United Nations can only be achieved in the name of a single State, after the complete reunification of the country or after the establishment of a confederation of North and South.”

That solemn appeal of the Algiers Conference attests to the fact that the non-aligned countries are concerned with this question and that they have something to say when it is a question of the independence and the reunification of a country and of the requirements of the safeguarding of international peace.

Yet today we are witnessing a policy of *détente*, for which the non-aligned nations also have striven. Why should this oft-vaunted *détente* not have favourable repercussions in Korea too? Why should the United Nations not adopt the decision dictated by common sense and logic, namely, to declare null and void all decisions adopted during the cold war in order to encourage the two Governments of Korea to continue their dialogue leading to reunification?

For the first time we have heard the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who told us the background of the talks between the two parts of Korea and stressed the five points which his Government considered essential.

As far as we are concerned, we should like those peaceful discussions to continue between the two Governments of Korea so that the people of Korea may achieve its reunification. But what strikes us is the stubborn will on the part of the Korean people to achieve its national entity and to put an end to this insensate division of a single people. It is easier for us to

understand because in my own country there is also a process to reestablish the unification of Yemen. In fact, for almost a year, there have been serious discussions between our Government and the brother Government of Democratic Yemen for the purpose of achieving the objectives of the agreements which have been signed between us. The people of Yemen, north and south, like the people of Korea, aspire to reunification and, despite numerous difficulties and obstacles, ideological, political and social, we too are certain of our successful reunification ultimately because it is the basic need of our people.

It is for this reason that I understand it perfectly well when the Democratic People's Republic of Korea draws our attention to the necessity for full reunification or a confederation before the admission of Korea to the United Nations. Our own experience confirms this. It is more desirable and far better to attain reunification before there are two States of the same country as Members of the United Nations. Otherwise, political, legal and psychological difficulties arise to make such reunification more complex and more difficult.

There is, I grant, the example of the two Germanys, both of which have been admitted to the United Nations, but this example is only valid because the two Governments decided freely, after negotiations without foreign interference, on the steps to be taken.

That example of Germany, which we welcomed since it was the will of the people of Germany, cannot be used as a comparison as far as Korea is concerned. There, a single Government, that of the South — and it is still to be proved that the South Koreans agree with their Government — accepts the principle, whereas the other, that of the North, considers it dangerous for the people of Korea. On the contrary, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea stresses the reunification stage as a first phase towards confederation before admission to the United Nations. The reunification of Korea — that is to say the unification of an artificially divided country — is a domestic affair for the Korean people to solve in accordance with the principle of self-determination. We agree with those who stress that if, at the present stage of the division, the North and the South separately join the United Nations, this will only crystallize still more the national division.

The multiform co-operation between the North and the South of Korea might be the best and surest way of solving the Korean problem. New relations have to be established between

the two regions, based on mutual trust, co-operation and union, in order to accelerate the great work of peaceful reunification, with no foreign interference, even from the United Nations.

Therefore, to be consistent with our analysis, and in accordance with the resolutions of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, my delegation continues — and I emphasize “continues” — to believe that we must, first, dissolve the notorious “United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea”; second, abolish the right of foreign troops stationed in South Korea to use the flag of the United Nations and, therefore, dissolve the “United Nations Command”; and, finally, withdraw foreign troops from South Korea in order to speed up the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

If we adopted such a stand, the United Nations would enhance its authority and regain some of the prestige that was so heavily taxed in this question of Korea.



KHALID ALI

Pakistan

I should like to begin by expressing the deep satisfaction my delegation feels at the presence in the United Nations for the first time since debates began on the Korean question of a delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and at the fact that that delegation has been able to participate in the debate in this Committee. My delegation has in the past consistently supported draft resolutions in this Committee calling for the participation in these debates of both parts of Korea without any preconditions, and I should like to extend to them our very warm welcome.

The presence of a North Korean delegation here is the first step by this Organization to move towards a more objective approach to the question of Korea. It is twenty years since the armistice in Korea was first established. Much has happened in these years that has changed the pattern of relationships among States in that part of the world and in the world at large. The basic purpose of the presence of the involvement of the United Nations in Korea has been to assist in the reunification and rehabilitation of that war-torn country. The fact remains that the Organization has not been able to take any concrete measure to remove the barrier that artificially divides the Korean people along the 38th parallel.

The time has come to examine in what fashion the United Nations can contribute to the achievement of the goal which has been its declared purpose in Korea. We must examine whether the form and shape in which the United Nations is represented in Korea is capable of furthering this purpose. This is not the first time the Committee has debated the Korean item but it is the first time the Committee has had the opportunity to hear representatives of both sides on a question which concerns the future of that country and the well-being

of its people. It is apparent that important and fundamental differences exist between them, not on the ultimate aim of reunification but on how it might be achieved. It would be idle to pretend that the gulf can be bridged in the course of our debates here or by skilful draftsmanship. We should like, nevertheless, to concentrate, as many other delegations have done, on those points which are common to the respective positions of the two sides. For our purpose here must be to avert conflict and confrontation and to further the process of conciliation which the two parties themselves have initiated.

We are encouraged by the success that has been achieved through the recent series of meetings held between the North and the South under the auspices of the Red Cross. After nearly two decades of stagnant confrontation the two parts of Korea have, in direct talks and in a comparatively short period, reached agreement on the basic principles upon which their future relations will be built. In the Joint Statement of 4 July 1972 both parts agreed on the three principles upon which national reunification would be based. The principle that reunification should be achieved independently and without reliance upon or interference by outside force provides, in our view, the only basis on which a sovereign, independent and freedom-loving people can solve what are essentially its internal problems. The horrors of war to which the people of Korea was subjected and which devastated both the North and the South are all too fresh in the world's memory. The pledge by both North and South that the reunification of their country should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against each other, is to be welcomed because it will relieve the Korean people from the burden of the fruitless military confrontation it has carried for the last two decades and because it contributes to the easing of tensions in Asia and elsewhere.

We welcome in particular the formation of the North-South Co-ordination Committee, charged with the task of solving the problems in the way of Korean reunification. It attests to the seriousness of the resolve lying behind the agreement published in their Joint Statement of 4 July 1972.

The armistice reached in Korea more than twenty years ago must of course be maintained. This is implicit in the agreement of the two sides to seek reunification through peaceful means. However, an armistice, by definition, is transitory and must give way in due course to a more lasting arrangement. It would be contrary to the interests of the Korean people, in-

compatible with the declared aim of the United Nations and inconsistent with the principles of the Charter if protection of the armistice were to become an end in itself and the armistice lines turned into a quasi-frontier dividing brother from brother. The problems in the way of Korean reunification are fundamentally of a political nature. Their solution and the establishment of true and lasting security in Korea can be achieved through the creation of proper political conditions and by using the appropriate political means.

The two Korean parties themselves have initiated the process by entering into direct talks, as we know, after reaching an agreement on broad principles. In these circumstances, we must seriously consider whether the continued presence of foreign forces, under whatever flag they might be stationed there, can contribute to the creation of the desired political climate and facilitate progress along the road to settlement.

We know, of course, that the forces now stationed in South Korea belong to the United States. It is no secret either that their presence there was not unconnected with the cold war of the 1950s, a cold war which is gradually giving way to more constructive relationships among States. It seems anomalous to us that foreign troops under the United Nations flag should continue to be stationed in South Korea at a time when tensions are easing all over the world and great-Power rivalry is giving way to détente and co-operation. We do not believe that the process of the eventual withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea should be long drawn out and would urge that serious consideration should be given to this matter here and in other appropriate organs of the United Nations. Such a step would be a logical complement to the proposed dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK). On this latter proposal, there is of course no difference of opinion, the Commission itself having proposed dissolution in its current report.

Pakistan, as the Committee is aware, was an active member of the Commission until 1967, when it came to the conclusion that the Commission was not capable of assisting in the reunification or rehabilitation of Korea. Last year Pakistan formally withdrew from the Commission, in view of the fact that the two parts of Korea had entered into a direct dialogue for the purpose of resolving their problems and reuniting the country.

It is against the same background, namely, the desire of the Korean people for unity and the commitment of the United

Nations to that goal, that my delegation views the suggestion that as an interim measure both North and South Korea should become Members of the United Nations. In terms of procedure, this question cannot properly, in the first instance, be considered in the General Assembly.

Article 4, paragraph 2 of the Charter provides that admission of new Members to the United Nations has to be "effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council". The correct sequence is, therefore, that consideration by the Security Council precedes consideration by the General Assembly. This interpretation of Article 4, paragraph 2 is reflected in chapter X of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council and chapter XIV of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

At the time when these rules were being considered for adoption by the Security Council and the General Assembly, a recommendation was made by the representative of Australia at the Security Council's 41st meeting, on 16 May 1946, when the report of the Committee of Experts relating to rules of admission of new Members was being considered, to place a different interpretation on the provisions of Article 4, paragraph 2, and to formulate a set of rules whereby such questions would be considered by the General Assembly prior to their reference to the Security Council. These recommendations were rejected by the Security Council at its 42nd meeting, on 17 December 1946. It was felt then, and it is true now, that prior reference of questions of admission of new Members to the United Nations by the General Assembly is purposeless, because the Assembly cannot take a decision on such questions without a recommendation from the Security Council.

However, there is a more fundamental objection to the idea of admitting two Korean States to the United Nations. This is that such a step would run counter to the deeply felt desire of the Korean people for unity and to the agreement of the two sides to work towards the peaceful achievement of that goal. The role of the General Assembly in this matter should be to encourage both States to move along the road which they themselves have chosen and to refrain from doing anything which might create political, legal or psychological obstacles in the way.

My country is situated far from the shores of Korea, but over the years we have developed the most friendly and mutually beneficial relations with the people of Korea in various fields.

Despite wars, suffering and division, the Korean people have made economic progress which excites the admiration of all those who have witnessed it. The people of Pakistan respect and admire the courage and determination of the Korean people. They have the greatest regard for its achievements. We see Korea as a major Asian country which artificial division prevents from playing the significant role in world affairs which rightfully belongs to it. It is our hope that the desire of its people to reunite their country will find fulfilment. Pakistan would welcome the end of military confrontation between the two parts of the same nation and the restoration of the fraternal bonds between the Korean people. That is the task to which this Organization must devote its renewed efforts. It is the promotion of this objective that must command all our vigour and have priority above all others.



IMRE HOLLAI

Hungary

The Hungarian People's Republic has constantly been one of the sponsors of draft resolutions entitled "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea". Together with other firm friends and allies of the Korean people of the Democratic

People's Republic of Korea, Hungary has for a long time been striving to ensure that the positive changes in the world are duly reflected also in the discussion of the so-called question of Korea here at the United Nations. We sincerely hope that the debate at this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly will not cause — as it has so often done in the past — disappointment to the peace-loving peoples of the world.

The Hungarian delegation is of the opinion that there exists now every condition for the discussion of the question of Korea to be successful. First of all, for the first time we are discussing the issue in the presence of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Government and the people of the Hungarian People's Republic are united by close ties of friendship with the Government and the heroic people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. I wish to take this opportunity also to extend my respectful and comradely greetings to Comrade Li Jong Mok, Deputy Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and to all members of his delegation. The fact that the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are taking part in the discussion is a great victory for the Korean people, for the socialist countries, and for all other progressive forces of mankind. But that fact is significant also for the United Nations, which without the active participation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would never have been and never would be able to fulfil the duties and respon-

sibilities imposed on it in this respect. Of similarly high importance is the fact that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has recently opened its official observer's office at the Headquarters of the United Nations.

The effectiveness of our work here can be enhanced also by the essential processes we are witnessing, both in the world situation and in the land of Korea, in relations between the North and the South. Highly valuable and detailed information relevant to this matter was supplied by Deputy Foreign Minister Li Jong Mok in his statement of 14 November.

It is common knowledge that the so-called question of Korea has fallen to the United Nations of today as a dismal inheritance from the bitterest days of the cold-war period. This we should not forget today either, when we can work under conditions that are different in many respects. While, as a result of the peaceful coexistence and co-operation of countries with differing social systems, there is a growing détente in considerable areas of the world, the forces of aggression in other areas have become rather isolated. A victory of the forces of socialism, progress and peace in any part of the world helps the countries and peoples everywhere that are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The increased role of the socialist countries has radically changed power relationships and makes it possible for the historic programme of peace to score successes pushing through against the forces of reaction. For peaceful co-operation among countries and peoples generally to prevail, however, it is necessary to remove the remains of the cold war.

I have already said that the current debate in the General Assembly can be made fairly effective also by essential changes in Korea. The outstanding results attained by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as it engages in building socialism rightly deserve general attention.

Not everyone knows the immense damage caused to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by alien troops under the flag of the United Nations in the period from 1950 through 1953. Cities of the country were destroyed, and its national economy and population suffered immeasurable losses.

In spite of this, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea not only liquidated in a very short time the backwardness of the country inherited from the past, but also reconstructed its cities with amazing speed. According to data of per capita

production, its industry today holds second place in Asia. This work of economic construction and the continuous improvement of the people's well-being can serve as examples to be followed by many developing countries.

It is also well known that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea pursues a consistent socialist policy of peace. It is steadily expanding its relations with countries in all corners of the world, and it is an active member of several international organizations. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea deserves credit for its struggle waged for the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea and for the five-point programme formulated under the guidance of Comrade Kim Il Sung.

After the Second World War the road was opened to the independent development of Korea as a sovereign State. The defeat of fascism and colonialism made it possible for the Korean people's dream of many decades to come true — the formation of a united, democratic independent Korea.

Unfortunately, this did not come to pass. The promising prospect was not to the liking of the forces of the cold war. What they wanted to impose was not democracy but dictatorship, not social progress but retrograde social conditions, not independence but subjection. The only way to achieve this was to block the unity of Korea by dividing the country. The principle of "divide and rule" this time served as a weapon of the neo-colonialists.

Following a notorious recipe of cold war policy, the United States of America made the United Nations, which at the time was still in the service of the cold-war forces, recognize only the régime of the South.

Later it unleashed an armed conflict in which it degraded the United Nations, presenting it as a belligerent party facing the Democratic People's Republic of Korea building a new society. It made Korea a pretext for transforming the United Nations still more into a tool for the enforcement of their foreign policies.

In this process the Charter of the United Nations was flagrantly violated. The promoters of the cold war went so far as virtually to invalidate the Charter by having the resolution on "Uniting for Peace" adopted, and it was not because of their doing that the Organization survived the crisis. They caused immense damage to the United Nations and dangerously impaired thereby the future effectiveness of the world Organization.

My delegation does not wish to dig up old grievances when it reminds the General Assembly that the subsequent problems in United Nations peace-keeping activities were to no small extent consequences of the unscrupulous imperialist policy that culminated in the war of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The task ahead of our Organization today is to try to make amends, in part at least, for the harm done to the interests of the Korean people from 1950 onwards.

The United Nations was employed as a tool for intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people, as a tool for foreign military occupation. It is obvious that this role was at that time—as it is today—contrary to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the Organization.

Therefore the most essential task of the United Nations today is to put an end to foreign intervention in the affairs of Korea. By doing so, it will not only heighten its own authority and return to the letter and the spirit of the Charter, but also help the Korean people terminate the arbitrary division of their country. The history of the past 25 years has proved beyond all question that, the tool of division being foreign intervention, only the termination of that intervention can guarantee the reunification of Korea and its peaceful, democratic development.

To the question whether the people of Korea are capable of independent development, the answer of the United Nations can only be yes. This is an answer which, as is true of the question, the world Organization cannot evade.

Similarly, it has to face the question of what lies behind the manoeuvres aimed at the admission of two Koreas to membership in the United Nations. Many here can still recall how desperately the South Korean régime and its supporters opposed even the idea of representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea attending the debates here of direct concern to their country. It may be much to their surprise that the same quarters are now pressing for the admission of the two parts of Korea.

In the meantime, as is well known, talks have begun between the North and the South about reunification of the country and have resulted in an important agreement on the principles for reunification. And it is just at this juncture that a proposal is made for the admission of both Korean parties as Members. I wonder why.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the motive behind the proposal is an endeavour to delay thereby the inevitable result of the efforts at unification. That is the reason why the true friends of Korea are opposed to the proposal, which essentially is meant to perpetuate the division of Korea.

Of course, the ship of intervention is sinking, and that is not a local phenomenon of Korea; it is a universal trend.

The so-called United Nations Command is no exception either. The Security Council of the United Nations has never appointed a commander and has never received any substantive report from such a commander. Nobody in this room really knows what units those so-called United Nations Forces consist of, where they are stationed, who finances them, what are their expenses and so on and so forth. Consequently, the termination of this outrageous situation would significantly heighten the prestige of the United Nations and would rid it of the far from honourable role imposed upon it by the forces of the cold war.

My delegation does not wish to deal in detail with the arguments which the supporters of foreign intervention have brought forth in favour of the continued maintenance of the so-called United Nations Command and the use of the United Nations flag. Those arguments do not invite serious debate. They are like those the same countries have employed for a decade to oppose the participation of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the relevant debates of the First Committee. They are no better than those used for years against the dissolution of UNCURK by those who today are compelled to propose its dissolution. They have already been answered by the representative of Algeria.

We wish to make only one remark: does the South Korean régime really believe that its authority is heightened by its stubborn insistence on a certain foreign military presence in its country?

Permit me to take this opportunity to point out that the harmful and illegal activity of UNCURK not only did political harm but involved a serious financial burden for our Organization, as has been stressed by several speakers in this debate. We cannot, however, leave it unsaid that the budget of our Organization is today still taxed by illegal and unjustified expenditures of this kind. The Hungarian delegation wishes also to emphasize here its reservations concerning the practice of including the maintenance costs of the so-called United Nations

Memorial Cemetery in the regular budget of the Organization. This state of affairs should be changed as promptly as possible.

It is no secret that in the past two years — namely, since the Korean dialogue between the North and the South on the possibilities of reunification began — two diametrically opposed views have also been conflicting here in the debates of the United Nations concerning the tasks and duties of the world Organization. Put in clear and explicit terms, they can be formulated as follows.

The first view, which is also firmly supported by the Hungarian delegation, urges the United Nations collectively and Member States individually to do everything they can to ameliorate the conditions in Korea, to liquidate the remnants of the cold war, to terminate the so-called United Nations presence there.

Contrary to that, the other view argues that the United Nations should do practically nothing, or only very little, because any decision or action on our part might supposedly upset the situation, the relation of forces prevailing in Korea. Everyone knows that more than 28 years have passed since the forcible division of Korea. Two decades have passed even since the conclusion of the armistice between the North and the South. It is also common knowledge that not one foreign soldier is stationed in the northern part of the country, in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Hungarian delegation is firmly convinced that the best judge to decide the future of Korea and the means for its peaceful development is the Korean people. Neither under the auspices of the United Nations nor by any other kind of foreign intervention is it permitted to disturb the dialogue between the North and the South, the peaceful independent development of Korea. All those who are really friends of Korea should help the Korean people live without foreign patronage and build their beautiful country for themselves in peace.

In concluding, I would give a personal impression concerning Korea. When visiting Panmunjom last spring, I saw a tree that had grown right on the tracks of a railway because there had been no traffic between the North and the South during the past decades. To me that appeared to be a symbol of the unnatural state of affairs, a paradoxical symbol of the unnatural represented by the natural growth of vegetation.

During these past decades a new generation has grown up, a lot has changed in the world. But that tree is still there, manifesting the total separation of the two parts of one nation, one people.

We should see to it that that separation is ended and that the unnatural growth of obstacles in the way of reunification disappears. That is what is expected of the United Nations, and no less.



VITALY S. SMIRNOV

Byelorussian Soviet
Socialist Republic

First of all we should like to express our satisfaction at the fact that for the first time representatives of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are taking part in the discussion of the Korean question in the General Assembly of

the United Nations. Because of the discriminatory attitude of certain countries, for twenty-six years that country had been denied the right to take part in the discussion in the United Nations of questions directly affecting its vital interests.

For the first time in the whole history of the discussion in the United Nations of questions relating to Korea, we have heard the voices of those who represent the real interests of the Korean people. We view this as a triumph of reason and as evidence of the positive changes that have been occurring in the world and in the United Nations.

The invitation to the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea indicates the position taken by the socialist countries and many other peace-loving countries which from the very beginning of the discussion of the Korean problem in the United Nations have supported the interest of the Korean people.

Twenty-eight years have passed since South Korea was forcibly detached from the North as a result of United States intervention, and twenty years have elapsed since establishment of the armistice. However, the reunification of Korea has not yet come about. Who is to blame for that? The answer to that question has been most cogently given in the Memorandum of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in favour of the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea contained in document A/C.1/1034 dated 10 October 1973. United States troops have impeded the reunification of Korea,

have occupied liberated southern Korea and illegally implanted there a military administration and unilaterally annulled international agreements on Korea, thrown together a separate régime in Korea and, under the illegal cover of the United Nations flag, provoked aggressive war in Korea.

Foreign intervention has impeded and continues to impede the peaceful, independent reunification of the country. A number of countries, in spite of the obvious futility of their position, continue to put obstacles in the way of the unification of Korea by means of making proposals, such as those contained in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645 and other similar proposals. All this is done in spite of the clear and repeatedly expressed will of the Korean people that it is necessary to accelerate an independent, peaceful reunification of Korea.

In the Memorandum of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, we find the following statement:

"The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the political parties and social organizations in the northern half have advanced proposals for peaceful reunification on as many as over 130 occasions since liberation up to date." (*A/C.1/1034, annex p. 14*)

Finally, we have the joint view of the North and South of Korea. On 4 July 1972 the North and South of Korea agreed in a Joint Communiqué with the following principles for national reunification:

The unification of the country shall be achieved through independent Korean efforts without being subject to external imposition or interference;

Unification shall be achieved through peaceful means, and not through the use of force against each other; and

A great national unity shall be sought above all. Now we must enable the Korean people itself to resolve its own destiny.

In order to improve relations between the North and South of Korea and to accelerate the peaceful reunification of the country, we should above all support the initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which consists of five points and was contained in the statement of President Kim Il Sung of 23 June 1973. That initiative from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea takes into account the facts of the situation in the Korean peninsula and proceeds from the belief that the cause of the unification of Korea, even though it is a very arduous cause, is something which is entirely feasible

if only the conditions for it are created and the obstacles to it are eliminated.

A contribution should be made by the United Nations also to implement these proposals and to the cause of easing tension in this area and to create conditions for the speedy, independent, peaceful unification of Korea. A good basis for this, in the view of the Byelorussian SSR delegation is to be found in the proposals contained in the draft resolution co-sponsored by 35 States in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1.

Among the concrete measures proposed is the dissolving of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. This organ was imposed upon the United Nations in order to protect not the interests of the United Nations or the Korean people but the interests of imperialist circles. Accordingly, from the moment it was founded the Commission has not complied with its terms of reference because its activities were not designed to attain the unification and rehabilitation of Korea or its reunification, but on the contrary was designed to defend the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops and to perpetuate the division of the country.

The unvarying reports of the Commission have been used to discredit the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, its régime, its achievements and its success in the building of a new society based upon genuinely democratic principles in the interests of the whole Korean people. At the same time, those reports concealed the facts of the militarization of the economy and the rampaging terror which was designed to crush all opponents of the régime and supporters of the unification of the country. Freedom in South Korea was trampled underfoot by the foreign military boot and democracy was crushed by the military police régime.

In fact we need not have said anything at all about this Commission had it not been for its report with its old habit of ignoring the facts and lavishing fulsome praise on the bankrupt régime. In this way the Commission did nothing and is doing nothing to promote the achievement of the unification of Korea but is, on the contrary, being used as a tool in the flagrant, totally unjustified intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people and is doing everything it can to hinder the resolution of the problem of the unification of the country and has justified the occupation by foreign troops of the South of Korea. Therefore, it is quite obvious that it needs to be dissolved, but it should not dissolve itself. The fact that the Com-

mission is useless and a failure is confirmed even in the draft resolution of its active supporters. Therefore, it would seem to be the correct approach not to consider the report of the Commission as a document of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

Normally, just before people die they repent of their sins. The Commission, however, is going on its way to hell unrepentant and confirming in its report its former sins.

In connexion with the forthcoming elimination of the Commission, the question arises: why was a decision of this kind not taken 20 years ago when the socialist countries proposed it? After all, the Commission has not changed since that time. So if such a decision is correct now it would have been correct 20 years ago. And there is another fact that should be added: it is that this unnecessary and even harmful Commission, throughout the period of its existence, has had spent on it out of the United Nations budget about \$ 5 million — not to mention the other expenditures are numbered in millions of dollars, which were involved by the foreign intervention imposed upon the United Nations, the intervention in the affairs of the Korean people under the United Nations flag.

However, the proposal of the socialist countries to dissolve the Commission was not adopted at the right time. That was the result of the shortsightedness of the imperialist States. Of course, it is very difficult to expect them to do anything else, but this example once again confirms the truth that the position of the socialist States on international questions is in keeping with the requirements of the day and the future, while the position of the imperialist countries is one that defends what is outmoded, outdated, what is past, reactionary and everything that puts a brake on the progress of mankind. There are more than sufficient examples of this. The imperialist States for more than 20 years failed to recognize and discriminated against the German Democratic Republic; for many years they opposed the dissolution of the so-called Commission for the Peaceful Unification of Korea; they were against the creation of the office of the permanent observer of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the invitation to the delegation of that country to attend the United Nations for the discussion of the Korean question. And that list could be extended.

How much better it would have been for mankind if all these and other questions had been resolved in the proper way at the right time, that is 20 years or more ago, as was proposed by

the socialist countries. As to the use of the United Nations flag by foreign troops stationed in South Korea, and also the United Nations Command, it is quite obvious that the longer foreign intervention continues in this area, the worse it will be for the Korean people and the world community at large.

That is why the 35 States that are sponsoring the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, including the Byelorussian SSR, have proposed the annulment of the right of the foreign troops stationed in South Korea to use the United Nations flag, the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea so that further steps can be taken for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. That is the only correct way to solve the problem.

At the present time there is no basis whatsoever for the presence of foreign troops in South Korea. The occupation of South Korea by foreign troops was from the very beginning illegal and a flagrant violation of the Armistice Agreement on Korea which provided for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and is in contravention of the principles of the United Nations.

The Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, Mr. Scali, speaking here on 15 November 1973, attempted to justify the presence of American troops in South Korea. The following is what the military specialists of the United States say about this. I quote from *The New York Times* of 16 November, precisely one day after Mr. Scali spoke, where it was reported from Seoul that

"Senior American military officers have conceded that there is no sound military reason for maintaining the American contingent." (*The New York Times*, 16 November 1973, p. 14)

Apart from American forces there are also others which have an interest in the preservation of American troops in the Korean peninsula.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has repeatedly declared — and did so once again here in its statement in the First Committee on 14 November 1973 — that it had no intention to invade the South and, indeed, there have been no military actions between the North and the South since the armistice — if we leave aside the violations of the armistice by United States troops and by South Korea.

As is well known, the two sides have solemnly proclaimed

in their own country and in the Joint North-South Statement, with other States as witnesses, that they would never use armed force against each other. In these circumstances, therefore, any pretext for perpetuating the presence of foreign troops in South Korea is totally without foundation.

There are no foreign troops whatsoever on the territory of the northern part of the Republic and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has urged a reduction in the strength of the armed forces of the North and the South to 100,000 men.

Certain speakers here, particularly the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.645, have attempted to justify the presence of foreign troops in South Korea by various means of juridical juggling in referring to resolutions of the United Nations. But every straight-thinking person can see that the so-called United Nations troops in South Korea, from the very beginning of their operations, had nothing whatsoever to do with the United Nations. Neither Kurt Waldheim, as Secretary-General of the United Nations, nor his predecessors have ever given any instructions to the so-called United Nations troops in South Korea. Can anyone here name a single order given to those troops by the Security Council over the course of 20 years? No one can. In actual fact, those troops which have occupied South Korea get their orders not from the Security Council but from the war ministry of a foreign State. The United Nations must immediately take a decision to put an end to such injustice and thus create the conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The Byelorussian SSR delegation, like many other delegations, firmly opposes the admission of two Koreas into the United Nations, since that would be only one more imperialist action out of the arsenal of dirty tricks connected with Korea. The Deputy Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Li Jong Mok, has adduced numerous cogent facts and arguments exposing the machinations in respect of the admission to the United Nations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea. For the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, the proposal for admission of two Koreas to the United Nations is unacceptable and it rejects this proposal, which impedes the reunification of Korea and perpetuates its division.

That is why the draft resolution on the Korean question submitted by Algeria on behalf of 35 peace-loving countries is

entirely in keeping with the interests of the Korean people and of peace in Asia and throughout the world. That draft resolution is entirely convergent with the resolution of the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers which supported the just struggle of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the whole Korean people for the reunification of the country on an independent, peaceful basis, without any foreign intervention; called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea and the cessation of foreign intervention in any form in the internal affairs of Korea; and stated that the admission of Korea to the United Nations could be achieved only in the name of a single State, after the complete reunification of the country or after the establishment of a confederation of North and South.

The decision of the Conference of non-aligned countries has once again underlined the just nature of the struggle which has been waged for so many years by the socialist and other peace-loving countries in the international arena for the acceleration of the peaceful reunification of Korea. The struggle of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country is a part of the over-all struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism and for national liberation, independent development and the struggle for peace in Asia and throughout the world, which enjoys the whole-hearted support and approval of the peace-loving peoples of our planet.

The peoples of the whole world share the aspirations of the Korean people, and the ranks of those who support and are sympathetic to the just cause of the Korean people are growing from day to day. The people of the Byelorussian SSR, like all the peoples of the other socialist and peace-loving States, warmly support the just struggle of the Korean people for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea and for the peaceful democratic reunification of their country. We believe that, relying on the fraternal solidarity of the socialist countries and progressive world public opinion, the Korean people will be able to carry out this important national task.



JAMIL M. BAROODY

Saudi Arabia

SPEECH MADE ON NOVEMBER 14

Mr. Chairman, I have not had an opportunity to say how much I congratulate myself on having you in the Chair. Having watched you in the past conduct the business of the Security Council and, I believe, also — if my memory does not falter — one of the Committees of the General Assembly, I am sure that efficiency will be the hallmark of your chairmanship.

I should like to congratulate myself also on having the so-called two Koreas present in this room, for this happy event has been long overdue.

It is however significant that the delegation of North Korea is seated in the northern part of the room whilst that of South Korea occupies seats in the southern part of the room. Both these delegations are separated by the horseshoe-shaped tables at which 135 representatives of Member States of the United Nations are seated. Are we going to be the bridge between North Korea and South Korea? Or shall we emphasize the differences that, unfortunately, exist? For one I should say that there are rifts, and those rifts continue to be highlighted — unfortunately. One has only to listen to the speeches to see champions of one Korea and champions of the other Korea. I will be champion of neither; I want the people of Korea to be their own champion.

The Korean people are a homogeneous nation and it should never have been divided by the two major Powers — recently we have been calling them super-Powers, but then they had just emerged from a war and they were “major Powers”, because they had been weakened by the Second World War, so I will say the major Powers of that era — which were instrument-

al in the separation of the same people, the Korean people, on ideological and strategic grounds.

I have been seized of this question for the past 23 years, and I have a contemporary sitting with us today: Ambassador Malik of the Soviet Union. I do not know whether he is nostalgic about what happened 23 years ago. It was at a turbulent meeting of the Security Council when our illustrious colleague saw no escape from walking out of the Council Chamber for the mere reason that, at that time, the Member States numbered over 50 and, needless to say, there was what at that time the late Vyshinsky called "the mechanical majority". The United States had the majority. At that time some of our Latin American colleagues were, to a large extent, manipulated by the United States — and so were some of our own Arab States manipulated by the United States, so that our Latin American colleagues should not take exception or think they were the only States manipulated by the United States.

But someone might question — and I question — why did the representative of the Soviet Union in 1950 walk out of the Security Council chamber and not exercise his veto? Well, I shall keep confidences and I shall not disclose that, but maybe one day when someone writes a serious book I shall tell him why.

I want to go to the roots of the question to show how the question of Korea was created and how we were beset with it at that time. The representative of the United States at the time — I think it was Henry Cabot Lodge — thought that it was a good opportunity to shift the Korean question from the Security Council to the General Assembly. I was asked for my humble opinion. I said that it would not work because the Soviet Union would not participate in the work of the General Assembly, but would withdraw. So a Little Assembly of 46 members was constituted, minus the socialist States — there were the three Soviet States then and a couple of other States that did not participate. So we were talking to the wall, talking to ourselves, listening to our echoes, because the Soviet Union did not participate in the debates on Korea. After all, it was the prerogative of the Security Council to deal with the question, and not of the General Assembly. I myself got tired of the Little Assembly and many a time my seat was vacant.

Finally, the war broke out. The United States was the protagonist of that war and it dragged 15 nations with it. To men-

tion a few, there were the United Kingdom, France, Australia, New Zealand and poor Turkey. What did Turkey have to do with that war in Asia, but of course it was a matter of balance of power — communism and capitalism. And the manipulation was by whom? I must say by both blocs of Powers. There was also the Philippines, which would have suffered a great deal if it had not joined. Aid would not have been forthcoming, so they had to join to fight their brothers, the Koreans. Ethiopia, of all countries, also was dragged into the conflict. I do not know what the inducement was in that case. And for Australia and New Zealand the bugbear of communism was the reason. So they had to fight communism.

But I shall now turn to the genesis of the Korean War, to how and why the Korean people were separated.

Mind you, I am using the word “separated” and not the word “partitioned”. From the research I have done, we go back to the days of the late President Truman and the late Mr. Stalin. The personae dramatis for President Truman were Messrs. Hopkins and Harriman. I knew both of them, but I did not discuss Korea with them. The astute alter ego of President Truman — and, before him, of President Roosevelt — was Hopkins. Mr. Harriman was a diehard conservative representative of his country whose ancestors made money on the railroads, and people who make money in this country on the railroads become great politicians. There are the Rockefellers, as you know. There are people as capable as Rockefeller, but they do not have his money to wage campaigns. And so Harriman became quite a negotiator on behalf of the United States with Mr. Stalin. He persuaded Stalin that there should be a trusteeship for Korea under China, Great Britain — you see, they put them in alphabetical order — the Soviet Union and the United States. My information has been corroborated by me from different sources, among them the memoirs of the late President Truman.

Then something went wrong. I do not want to go into the details, because my statement is not a historical dissertation. But members should know what was done. After this trusteeship arrangement backfired it was agreed that, without mentioning nationalities, the communist forces would move from the north to the 38th parallel, and the western forces — call them by whatever name you wish, the capitalist forces — would move from the south to the 38th parallel. The separation of the Korean people.

Was it to serve the interests of the Korean people? That is

my question. It was a strategic arrangement — leave aside the fact that the byproduct was ideological — communist and capitalist.

That separation was tantamount to the partitioning of Korea. You can say “separation”. They separated the people or they partitioned the land. And as if the United States and its western allies and those that were in need of the United States had not suffered enough during the Second World War, the partition of Korea presented such an unsatisfactory situation that it finally necessitated military intervention. Hence, we had the Korean war and the 16 Powers, some of which I enumerated, dispatched troops. But who bore the brunt of it? The United States. I believe it sent — and I stand to be corrected by the representative of the United States — 200,000 troops finally. Turkey sent 5,000 troops, of which 2,000 were killed — and I stand to be corrected by my brother from Turkey.

The poor Filipinos, who had suffered during the war, had to dispatch troops. Of course, Australia and New Zealand were part of the Commonwealth of Nations — the British Empire, on which the sun never set. Somebody told me God was very wise not to let the sun set on it, because had it set the colonialists would have done many things in the dark. So the sun was all over the British Empire because God did not trust the colonialists. Someone from Asia told me that recently.

I am talking objectively, dispassionately, with no axe to grind. Sixteen Powers sent troops to South Korea to repel an alleged — mark you that: “alleged” — incursion of North Korean forces into the territory of South Korea. That was in 1950, and I have told you what happened in the Security Council. And the United States asked many of us Member States — including Saudi Arabia, because I remember them approaching me — “Aren’t you going to send troops to raise high the standard of democracy?” They had asked me that question 10 years earlier, during the Second World War, and I said it was a sham democracy. Any democracy that had colonial possessions was no democracy. Any “democracy” that lorded it over others was not a democracy. They were fooling themselves.

Of course, I did the necessary with my Chief of State and with the Government of Saudi Arabia, and — I think wisely — we kept out of the conflict.

Oh, Saudi Arabia was the friend of the United States just because we had oil and it happened that some American oil

companies came and developed it. So we were friends. They used that word loosely. It was as though it was between a brother and a brother when it came to interests. It was a matter of reciprocity of interests, not friendship. It was a journalistic term. I said, "What friends? What friends? Send our boys to die in a conflict about which we know nothing?" We were not sheep to be driven into the slaughterhouse.

We never took sides, and I could tell you about the pressures that were brought on me personally for having broached this subject in this very Committee since 1965, when it became even ludicrous. It was ludicrous to ask that if representatives of North Korea were sent here they should behave; they should respect the provisions of the Charter. And if they did not behave — then what? Who was the schoolmistress? The schoolmistress was the United States: "If you behave, you will be allowed to come here, and if you do not —". And they never behaved in accordance with the wishes of the schoolmistress United States. They never behaved, and that is why they were delayed until now, after co-existence and then détente. And I am going to tell you something that will shock many of you. Those who were interested in the Korean question always placed the Korean item at the end of the agenda. And under what title? "The Korean question: report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea." And from which countries was that Commission constituted? The protagonist was the United States. So we were really faced with something that should have read, "report of the United States Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", for the rest of them were dragged into the conflict. But that fiction still remains, at least in phraseology, with us today.

Baroody tells you the facts as they obtain. I have no axe to grind. Let anyone challenge me and I shall be happy to be corrected if I am mistaken.

So this Korean question was always placed at the end of the agenda of the General Assembly. And one day I asked my colleagues then around this table, "By what mode of transportation do you want to send the North Koreans if they behave — by an American rocket or a Russian rocket, that they may arrive here in 24 hours?" How could they discuss the question?

This draft resolution attests to what I am saying. It is dated 20 December 1965 — almost eight years ago. I submitted it solo, when I got fed up with the machinations of the major Powers. It was suspended, because while I was addressing the

Third Committee they sent the Chairman of the First Committee to say, "For heaven's sake, we cannot work any more. Please, Baroody, suspend this; withdraw it." I suspended it.

They sent a mission to His Majesty the King — you know who sent who, so I am not going to tell you — to say, "Baroody is interfering too much with Korea. What has he to do with Korea?" The King had to question me, and I answered him. He said, "Go along; go along. But slowly, please. Treat them with kid gloves a little." I said, "I do not have any kid gloves."

My draft resolution read as follows:

"Taking into consideration that 12 years have elapsed" — it was 1965 — since the Korean armistice was signed and that no significant progress has been achieved for the unification of Korea,

"Noting that the General Assembly would not be in a position to play a constructive role in the unification of Korea unless it hears both the views of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the representative of the Republic of Korea,

"Recalling that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea expressed certain strong objections in its reply to the invitation that was addressed to it by the General Assembly at its sixteenth session (A/C.1/864) and thereby refused to accept the said invitation in the light of these objections,

"Noting that any intervention on the part of the representatives of both Korean Governments would clarify the situation to all members of the United Nations,

"Decides

"(a) to send a new invitation to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea compatible with its dignity —"

I stood on dignity. I am a monarchist; they are communists. But I stood on dignity. Who are we to tell them they are behaving or not behaving? If we used that yardstick of good behaviour for every Member, I think we would all get low marks. Nobody is perfect. To continue:

"(a) to send a new invitation to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea compatible with its dignity and the dignity of the people of that Republic so as to enable its representative with the representative of the Republic of Korea to take part in the discussions during the next session of the General Assembly or earlier if the Assembly so agrees;

“(b) to allow, in the meantime, the representative of the Republic of Korea” — or those sitting down south — “to make a statement solely for clarifying the position of his Government pending the appearance of both representatives before the General Assembly.” (A/C.1/L.366)

It took twelve years for the First Committee of the United Nations to come to its senses. It took twelve years for what I called for in 1965 to happen. And why did it happen. Because of coexistence and détente. Had there been no détente those people would still be divided. So we are at the mercy of agreement between the major powers when we have a dispute in which they have an interest.

Is that fair, is that the United Nations? Where is our conscience? Are we clients of any of the two Powers or are we independent sovereign States which should scrutinize every question on its merits and thereby address ourselves to solutions that are based on justice and not on political arrangements.

I am vindicated by this document and I thank a member of the Bureau for having produced it for me, because I could not find it in my files. It is dated 20 December 1965, and if anyone wants to read it again, it is in document A/C.1/L.366 although it will be in the verbatim record. I do not have to repeat it.

So what happened? I will tell you what happened later. You should understand this question because it has found no solution yet. And then, as I mentioned, I will recapitulate.

The United States requested many Members not only to take sides politically but to join in the crusade of chastising the communist hordes of the north, as they were called. Is that a nice way to call your fellow communists who are sitting next to you, my good friend from the United States? By whom are you separated now? You used to sit by the side of each other. I see that your being separated now by the admission of other States did not at all work out to the detriment of your détente.

Many of us, including Saudi Arabia, as I said, refused to be duped and fall into a pseudo-ideological melee. To say the least we were not impressed by Senator McCarthy, the inquisitor of alleged American communists. I saw him operate 23 years ago. If anybody said something good about Russia or, for that matter, China — I am talking of Communist China, not of Formosa or Taipei — he had his Watergate. They spied on him and tried him, this inquisitor McCarthy.

McCarthy started his inquisition significantly in 1950, and

that was the advent of the Korean war. "We should punish those communists whether they are Chinese or Russians", he said. And I, a Royalist, would say "take it easy". Thank God, I am not an American. I would have been lost with McCarthy. I am sure that now, if his spirit is floating somewhere — I do not know — and he is above *détente*, his bones in his grave would rattle.

To put it succinctly, the major Powers had no business to partition Korea, which led Korean brothers to fight and kill one another. The military, as well as the ideological, commitment of these major Powers should be terminated forthwith. But how can you reconcile between capitalism, so-called free enterprise, and communism, which is a sort of "état-ism"?

It is very easy. We do not have to do it.

We would not have missions from the Western world visit the so-called communist world and vice versa. They dine and wine and even eat caviar. In Russia they eat caviar and drink vodka; and the others drink bourbon and whisky in Washington. I do not know whether they deceive each other surreptitiously, but at least for all appearances they seem to get along very well together. And today none other than Mr. Kissinger is in Peking, or is he in Tokyo? He is in Tokyo today; I do not know what he is up to.

There should be one land in Korea and one people — not communism that starts with a "c", not capitalism that starts with a "c", but "Korea-ism" that starts with a "K", and a big "K". We are fed up with communism and capitalism. What we need is another "ism", humanism. And then our problems would be resolved, and you would not be false witnesses here debating in clichés, in prefabricated speeches, to please one side or the other.

How can we achieve or work out a solution? Having involved myself for 23 years in this question, may I succinctly leave with you or, better still, think aloud with you about what can be achieved under the present circumstances, separated as they are, these Korean people, from one another. Decide, by way of resolution or any other way, that there should not be two Koreas but only one Korea, one people, one culture, one language, one way of life, common interests.

This is our continent, Asia. You did what you wanted by dividing Germany: East Germany, West Germany, four zones in Berlin. What a shame. The victors should lord it over a great

people like the German people who have had achievements. Forget Hitler for a little moment. You play all the time here in this country the music of Beethoven and Mozart, and there is an array of musicians. Your philosophers, your Western life, derive a lot from German philosophy. You only see the bad spots in an apple. But have you looked at the bad spots in your own apple? Just because you were victors you divided Germany. You partitioned the land and separated the people on ideological grounds, to serve your strategic purposes.

But that is your continent. Why do you bring this malaise to our continent, Asia? And I am talking as an Asian now. I believe I express the sentiments of my African brothers who have had problems with colonialism, leave aside lording it over them under so many pretexts, as once you colonial Powers said: "we bear the white man's burden". You were there to exploit the land. Come out with it. This is passé. It is an anachronism now. The lions of Africa are all awake and they will defend their land and they will expel the remnants of colonialism from Africa.

Why do you want to play now with the destiny of Asia? What business had you Western Powers to wage a war that made the Second World War pale in comparison with your diabolical weapons, which you deployed in Viet-Nam. And the war is not over. How many miles is Viet-Nam from you? From the United States it is perhaps 15,000, from Europe perhaps 10,000 — I do not know, it depends on the geographical position of those countries. And you are still toying with the destiny of the Korean people. What business have you got in Korea? We are Asians. Leave us alone to solve our problems alone. What interest do you, the United States, have? You are becoming bankrupt by spending so much money. Six per cent of the world's population wants to police the whole world. Somebody asked me why the Chinese sent volunteers to North Korea. Because they were afraid that the Western Powers would invade China. They still had vividly in their memory the incursion of the West into China — the Boxer Rebellion. In 1896 the Queen of England sent a deputation to the Emperor of China bringing some tinsel and some wares from Sheffield. The Emperor was not impressed. Look at the vases that existed then in China. Look at the art of China. They wanted to trade. Who went? The merchants went and after them the Bible and the missionaries and then the flag, the Union Jack.

What business have you Western countries got in the con-

continent of Asia? Leave the Asians alone and they will settle their problems. But it seems we have to face the facts. You will not leave us alone so we will try to reason with you. And you will find that done in a draft resolution on this question which I had to suspend. This time the title has been expanded into the following:

“Question of Korea: report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

“Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

“Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations.”

And what a debate we had in the General Committee to have the last sub-title included. The following is the Saudi Arabian draft resolution which is still pending, suspended until somebody takes it over and tries to make something out of it. It states:

“The General Assembly,

“Noting that the partition of Korea arose from the military arrangements made by the two major Powers, namely, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, before the United Nations came into being in 1945 and before it began to function as an international organization;

“Taking into account that it was primarily the clash between the strategic interests of the said two Powers in Asia which led to the Korean War in 1950;

“Considering that the partitioning of any territory inhabited by the same people is bound to create internal as well as external power conflicts as has been manifested in the case of Korea;” —

and I should have said parenthetically “and in the case of Palestine” —

“Mindful of the fact that since the United Nations was first involved in the Korean question its membership has more than doubled and therefore it is incumbent upon all the Members of this Organization to review the situation with a new constructive approach;

“1. Appeals to the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to use their good offices with the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea with a view to removing the obstacles standing in the way of the unification of Korea;

"2. Requests the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to prevail upon the Governments of the Republic of Korea and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea not to set prior conditions to the appearance of their respective representatives before the United Nations;

"3. Calls upon other Member States directly involved in the Korean question to co-operate with the two major Powers and other Powers in the area with a view to promoting conciliation and creating an atmosphere conducive to the ultimate unification of Korea."

Pressure was brought on me to suspend that draft resolution. That was an avant garde draft resolution. What shall we do now? China is in the area. The Chinese people are dignified. They are the inheritors of a civilization which dates back 6,000 years. When they speak they call a spade a spade. The Soviet Union, which is both Asian and European, can also do that because it has the advantage of both mentalities, so to speak.

You Americans, you are only 200 years old and you know it all. "Might is right. We know everything". Democracy, what a hoax! A way of life? Yes, but what a way of life judging by New York — group sex, swapping wives, pornography. Leave us alone. We Asians have evolved our civilizations in peace. Keep your miniskirts and your hot pants. Leave Asia to work out its own destiny in co-operation with you — if you do not interfere in our affairs. You used to rattle your sabres but now you rattle your nuclear weapons. If you want to put an end to mankind, do it swiftly. To heck with it. It is better to live with our dignity rather than to bow our heads to injustice. Man lives once on this earth, not twice. But we are all going to be in the ditch in 30 or 40 years. No one will be here unless some of you live to the age of 100 and become senile. Western Powers, leave us alone. Balance of power, spheres of influence — we have had enough of them. We will live in peace and love you as brothers if you do not threaten us, if you do not rationalize your interests. Because we do not have bombs and we cannot send armies, and we say that anyone who is against us will not be a most favoured country for receiving oil, your press wants to wage war on the Arab world. They say that oil is a trust for the whole world. I am not digressing; we are part of Asia, and what I am saying applies also to Africa and Latin

America for that matter because they do not exercise world power. All of us are brothers under the skin, but we do not want tyrant brothers.

What shall we do with Korea, to come back to that question?

I suggest, Sir, first, that we should ask the major Powers to get together. I am not using the word "super-Powers". I hope my colleagues from China will accept the epithet of "major Power". With 700 million or 800 million inhabitants, what can we call you but a major Power? "Super-Power" — we do not like that appellation. Those three countries should get together — and I am sure China would be the umpire between the United States and the Soviet Union, an Asian country. Under the auspices of — or if not under the auspices, then on the basis of a common understanding between — those three major Powers, a conference should be set up or convoked in Geneva to bring together both régimes — and I do not want to call them North Korea and South Korea — representatives of both the North Korean and the South Korean Governments, after they have thrashed out many of their differences; and whatever differences might still exist, at the right time there would be a conference in Geneva to unify the country.

Second, steps should be taken, first mentally and then actively, to consider Korea a neutral State, with no outside interference by communists or by capitalists, by Western Powers or by Eastern Powers. We succeeded — and I did my little bit then — when we were talking about the neutralization of Austria. What is wrong with that? Austria is one of the most civilized States in Europe — and it has been for three or four centuries, I would say. I am not talking off my head; I have known Austria very well for the last 40 years. Why should we not neutralize Korea? The details, whether there should be a plebiscite to find out what form of government they want, and all that, could be worked out later. To do that now would be putting the cart before the horse. First stop jockeying for influence, you major Powers. Secondly, have China play an active part with you and be a sort of umpire to balance your views and see what is valid and what is invalid.

Thirdly, let steps be taken as early as possible with the idea that ultimately there should be a neutral Korea. Otherwise, 23 years from now, when I shall not be with you here, you will still be seized of the Korean question — as I have demonstrated — after having been seized of the same question and having been stymied in finding a solution for the last 23 years.

That, Sir, is my statement. I would ask you to keep my name on the list to address this Committee on what I think of the draft resolutions. I had other duties in other committees and could not find the time to scrutinize them. And I promise you, Sir — and you have known me for a number of years — that I shall not veer towards the one or the other. Dedicated as I hope I am to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations, I would go against my own brother if he appeared and tried to tell me, "Please, my brother, do me a favour and vote for me." Never. On the merits of the case, divesting ourselves of our petty national interests, we should all stand as one behind the truth, so that we may indeed pave the way for a lasting peace.

SPEECH MADE ON NOVEMBER 16

Mr. Chairman, thank you for giving me the floor to submit one of a series of amendments that I am taking the liberty of proposing so that there may be clarity in the texts of both draft resolutions submitted to this Committee. The amendment that I am going to read out now applies to both draft resolutions, in keeping with what I said in my statement on Korea — which, incidentally, seems to have had a favourable response. I gather this from many representatives belonging to different States who have approached me and told me that we should do something palpable in keeping with the sovereignty of the whole people of Korea, as well as making a request, as the First Committee, for the termination of interference in the internal affairs of both Koreas.

Hence the amendment that I submit now applies to the draft resolutions contained in documents A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 and L.645. It is self-explanatory, and I hardly need to dwell at length on its provisions. It reads:

"Calls upon all Powers, and especially the major Powers, to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the two Koreas and to undertake to respect the sovereignty of the Korean people as a whole".

The emphasis is on the sovereignty of the Korean people as a whole — not divided — because, after all, governments, whether they are of the South or of the North, are ephemeral and will disappear, and the sovereignty of the people, in accordance with the right of self-determination, which it was my privilege

and honour to elaborate with others over a period of eight years in the United Nations, lies in the people and not in governments. Any government that does not reflect the wishes of the people from now on, as will be seen in a few years, will not be able to remain in office for long, because the young have emerged and are more aware than the young of my generation and those that preceded me. We know what is going on in the world today. Governments in all parts of the world — in fairness to the Governments of the so-called two Koreas — are being manipulated, sometimes without their knowing it. This is why the emphasis is especially on the second part of my amendment: "And to undertake to respect the sovereignty of the Korean people as a whole". We can no longer consent in the United Nations to see a tug of war between major Powers, in particular when those that are pulled one way or the other are governments.

I would have this amendment become the key to the operative parts of both draft resolutions; in other words, it would be operative paragraph 1 in both, and of course the other paragraphs would be renumbered.

But that is not all. I have to have a few other consultations. I would ask you, Sir, kindly to let my alternate know, if I am not here, the target date for the submission of amendments, so that I may not be late in bringing mine to your attention and to the attention of my colleagues in the Committee.

SPEECH MADE ON NOVEMBER 19

I spent the weekend pondering what could be done to improve the two draft resolutions on Korea, the so-called Algerian draft and the so-called Australian draft.

What I propose to do now is in keeping with the efforts of my delegation in 1965 and 1968, when I introduced two draft resolutions the substance of which has been vindicated, to say the least. I need not repeat the texts of these draft resolutions because I referred to them fully in my statement a few days ago in this Committee.

However, having thought deeply about how to amend the present draft resolutions to make them acceptable to the majority, I have introduced this morning three amendments. They are in addition to the amendment I submitted when I last spoke on this question.

I shall first deal with the draft resolution sponsored by

Australia and others (A/C.1/L.645). Operative paragraph 3 of that draft

“Expresses the hope that, in the spirit of universality, the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea will consider membership in the United Nations as a further means of promoting the maintenance of peace and security in the area and thus the goal of peaceful unification;”.

I believe that that operative paragraph conflicts, in spirit as well as in letter, with operative paragraph 1, which

“Welcomes the dialogue, conducted by South and North Korea, to ease tension on the Korean peninsula and to make progress towards the peaceful unification of Korea,...”

It conflicts because paragraph 1 seems to put the emphasis on peaceful unification, while paragraph 3 speaks of the two Koreas — the admission of two Koreas into the United Nations. I am afraid that once the two Koreas are admitted into the United Nations it will not be worth while to talk about unification again — or at least not for 25 or 50 years from now. The division will be frozen. That is why I say that operative paragraph 1 conflicts in letter and in spirit with operative paragraph 3, and that is why I thought I should amend it in such a way as to make it acceptable to both North and South Korea. Thus, the amendment to operative paragraph 3 reads as follows:

“In operative paragraph 3, second line, after the words ‘the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea’ insert the following: ‘will resume constructive negotiations with a view to reunification either by merger, confederation or any other instrumentality they deem fit, so that they may ultimately consider membership as a single national State in the United Nations and thereby further the means of promoting the maintenance of peace and security in the area.’”.

The last phrase in the paragraph, “and thus the goal of peaceful reunification”, becomes superfluous and is to be deleted.

My other amendments apply to both the Australian and the Algerian draft resolutions. Once and for all we should state why we have been in an impasse for about 23 years regarding the Korean question; and we should state it in our draft resolutions lest we lose sight of the cause of all the trouble.

In fairness to the major Powers, which saw fit, so to speak, to partition Korea, I shall not mention them by name as I

did in 1968 in one of my draft resolutions. I do not want to hurt their feelings. No one can then say that Baroody is introducing something that might exacerbate the situation as it obtains. However, a spade should be called a spade; and here I have gilded the spade — or, rather, instead of a spade I have made it a gilded spoon so that anyone can handle it and look at it without thinking that the spade of contention was certain political arrangements. I think this is fair.

These amendments apply to the preambles to both draft resolutions. The first, which would be the first paragraph, reads as follows:

“Noting that the artificial separation of the Korean people at the 38th parallel was the outcome of political arrangements agreed upon by the major Powers to serve extraneous, strategic and ideological interests, regardless of the common will or widespread consent of the Korean people to such arrangements,”.

I do not name the Powers. Is that fair enough? Then too I do not say “to serve their own strategic and ideological interests”, but rather “extraneous” interests, to give them the benefit of the doubt: since they, the victors, were responsible, they did not want to appear as if they were doing it for their own national interest, but because of their responsibility for maintaining peace and security in the world. But those interests are extraneous to the Korean people. Advisedly, I used the words “extraneous interests”. Someone could have said, if he was vindictive, “their petty national interests”. I refrained from doing that because this is a statement of fact and I have no right to say “their petty national interests”, because perhaps they did what they did in good faith. But still, as far as the Korean people are concerned, these were extraneous strategic and ideological interests, and I stand to be challenged by anyone and I am ready to debate him on this question if he so chooses.

That amendment, as I said, would be the first paragraph in the preambles to both draft resolutions. The second paragraph in the preamble to each of the draft resolutions would read as follows under our amendment:

“Regretting that the separation of the Korean people at the 38th parallel was tantamount to arbitrary partition of the Korean peninsula into North and South Zones notwithstanding the fact that ethnologically, culturally and linguistically the people of both Zones constitute a single national entity,”.

Who could say that that is not a statement of fact and that such phraseology should not be included in both draft resolutions in order to make it possible to understand the genesis of the Korean problem and try to find ways and means to remedy it?

SPEECH MADE ON NOVEMBER 21

Thank you, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to present the draft resolution of Saudi Arabia in document A/C.1/L.664 of 20 November 1973. There is nothing new in the substance of that draft resolution as it consists of the draft amendments that I had submitted a few days ago to apply to the Algerian and the Australian draft resolutions on the Korean question. Why, then, did I submit a draft resolution? Some might say that I cemented those draft amendments because they no longer obtained. In a way, it is true.

My delegation was not consulted with regard to private talks between the co-sponsors of the Algerian and the Australian draft resolutions. Far be it from me to consider this action as a slight; on the other hand, I think it would have been more appropriate to take those of us who had submitted draft resolutions into confidence because these amendments of mine applied to the draft resolutions that I have just mentioned.

But it is not for that reason that I transformed the amendments into a draft resolution of Saudi Arabia; it is because I have witnessed what has happened since 1950 in the Korean question and I wanted to put the whole imbroglio — if I may call it so — in its own perspective and to point to the *raison d'être* of that imbroglio, lest we forget the genesis and start from another false foundation which will not benefit the Korean people and the so-called two States of Korea.

I listened very carefully to what was said by Mr. Jamieson, the representative of the United Kingdom. He reminded us of an old saying — that politics is the art of the possible. This saying, in certain situations, should be amended, and it should be taken into account that politics is not a supernatural force, but is of man's doing. In the latter part of the twentieth century the saying should be that politics should pave the way to achieve what may be "probable" instead of "possible". When there is good will and mutual trust between the Powers — and more so between the super-Powers — then I am sure everything be-

comes possible. Politics is not an earthquake over which we have no control. As human beings, we can have control of our actions.

Twenty-three years have elapsed since the war broke out in Korea, and 20 years since the Armistice Agreement came into effect. And it took some of us — I am talking of myself now — many years after 1953 to find that there was a tacit agreement between the major Powers to maintain the status quo. And now we find that, after consultations with the delegations of North Korea and South Korea, an understanding was reached between the co-sponsors of both of the major draft resolutions before us. I believe that it is laudable to bring about an understanding between North Korea and South Korea and to prod them to continue negotiations in the hope that they will end by reunifying their country.

But there is no assurance that the difficulties will be removed, although we all hope that the two sides will come to an understanding. This is why I thought that the delegations of North Korea and South Korea present here should be seized of the genesis of the problem. Many of them are young. Many of them may have forgotten the genesis of their own problem, and this explains the preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution which I am now submitting. I request representatives to bear with me, and if anyone around this table challenges what I say I hope that I shall be corrected if I am wrong. I shall welcome correction if I am wrong.

The first preambular paragraph reads:

“Noting that the artificial separation of the Korean people at the 38th parallel was the outcome of political arrangements agreed upon by the major Powers to serve extraneous, strategic and ideological interests, regardless of the common will or widespread consent of the Korean people to such arrangements,”.

Who can refute the letter and the substance of that preambular paragraph?

The second preambular paragraph reads:

“Regretting that the separation of the Korean people at the 38th parallel was tantamount to arbitrary partition of the Korean peninsula into North and South zones, notwithstanding the fact that ethnologically, culturally and linguistically the people of both zones constitute a single national entity,”.

Who can refute that preambular paragraph?

I have explained those two paragraphs before, but my explanations bear repetition in order to remind our friends from North Korea and South Korea that the partition was not the making of their own people, regardless of whether they live in the southern part of the peninsula or the northern part. Who can refute those two preambular paragraphs?

Now I come to the operative paragraphs. Operative paragraph 1

“Calls upon all Powers, and especially the major Powers, to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Korea and to undertake to respect the sovereignty of the Korean people as a whole;”.

Some of those major Powers have now become lesser Powers—I do not have to name them. There is nothing wrong in being a lesser Power. Two of them have become super-Powers. My good friend Mr. Jamieson should have addressed those super-Powers, asking them to put an end to their strategic interests in the Korean peninsula, and perhaps their ideological interests too. I do not know—ideology is fading out of the picture now; the communists trade with the capitalists and they send deputations. So it is their strategic interests.

Well, I see him standing there, my good friend Mr. Jamieson. I thought the United Kingdom had disengaged itself from its Empire. Mr. Jamieson, who is very eloquent and persuasive, says—as the Americans say—that everything is now quiet since both delegations have been brought together; he forgets that under the United Nations flag there are still 30,000 or 40,000 troops—I do not know the exact figure, but it is a substantial number of troops—and the majority of them are American troops. Why do they not hoist the American flag, so that the fiction that they are United Nations troops may be dissipated? They are American troops—with perhaps a few exceptions. Therefore I consider this the acme of hypocrisy. They are American nationals. This was especially true in 1950, when only 16 of the 52 Member States of the United Nations were marshalled—or shall I say conscripted—to wage war in Korea. That was an American war under the banner of the United Nations. And now, although we number 135 States, the United Nations flag still waves over those American troops. Whom do you think you are fooling? Why not call a spade a spade, saying: We the United States have interests in Korea; and we succeeded, when we emerged from the Second World War as a strong country, in bringing with us 16 other States to

be engaged in the Korean war. Let us put things into their proper perspective.

I feel sorry for my good friend Mr. Jamieson. No, not because he is whispering to someone. I feel sorry for you, my good friend, because sometimes you use platitudes, even though you are a very capable gentleman. I have known you for many years. I am sure I could learn a lot from you. But I am not British. I do sometimes use those platitudes, those slogans — "Politics is the art of the possible" — but you know how to use them better than I. I cannot use them as skilfully.

I feel sorry for Mr. Jamieson because he has to talk for the United States. The United States keeps silent; the one who is telling us about all this is the United Kingdom, not the United States.

We in the United Nations cannot go on hiding the fire under a bush, because the bush catches fire. And I am telling you the purpose of this question of Korea was to serve, at least in the South, the strategic interests of the United States and its allies. And this explains my preambular paragraphs.

Who are those Korean people? "They are Asians, they are yellow. We the white race are supreme". When something happens here in the host country without the consent of the white people, good God! — there will be a revolution. But why did not the United States treat the Korean people as it treats its own people, by finding out what they want? You partitioned them just because you are white and the whites, for the last two or three hundred years, have been exercising their supremacy over Asia and Africa. Those days are done with, however, and, as I said, I have put things in the proper perspective.

What assurance do we have that those strategic interests will be cast aside and that you major Powers will not continue to interfere in the affairs of the Korean people? What assurance do we have? Just because you say, "Let those two parties, the North and the South, continue negotiating", what assurance do we have that you will forgo your strategic interests in the area? We have no assurance from you. Why do you not declare that you will withdraw the troops from South Korea?

We have no assurance from you, only your platitudes. You meet in caucuses and come here and face us with a *fait accompli*. Consensus? Right, consensus is laudable, provided it is not a very low common denominator to see to it that your interests are perpetuated.

And then your strategic interests are reaffirmed by some secret agreement — or, rather, agreements, because you have differences among yourselves.

What assurance do we have? Why do you not come out and make a declaration of that sort, that all of us will not interfere in the internal affairs of Korea? You do not do that. You give us plausible arguments. Sometimes those arguments beguile some of us, but many of us are not beguiled by them.

So I think operative paragraph 2 is in keeping with what the North and South Koreans will one day put into practice, as we hope. It reads:

“Expresses the hope that, in the spirit of universality, the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea will resume constructive negotiations with a view to reunification by merger” — that would be the ideal form of reunification — “confederation...” —

and so that it may not appear that we are dictating to them the type of reunification, I have said also “or any other instrumentality they deem fit”. There may be other ways and means of reunification. What is wrong with that formula? Does it conflict with the consensus I hear has been worked out between the sponsors of the two major draft resolutions of which we have been seized? I do not think so. This would give the Koreans the right to determine their type of Government. The paragraph continues:

“...so that they may ultimately consider membership in the United Nations as a single national State and thereby further the means of promoting the maintenance of peace and security in the area.”

This draft resolution does not conflict with the consensus. It supplements the consensus; it fortifies the consensus. And I do not know why some representatives here this morning told me, “Baroody, do not rock the boat. A consensus has been arrived at.” I do not yet know the phraseology of that consensus. What are we, second-class citizens here in the United Nations, that we are kept in the dark? “Oh, no; it is for practical reasons. You see, you are not a sponsor of the so-called Algerian draft resolution, nor of the Australian draft resolution. Perhaps you will interfere and upset our plan.”

Why should you think that way? It amounts to thinking that way: that we are going to rock the boat and spoil the consensus. But we are not that simple, we small Powers, that we should do that, because once we knew the South and the North

were in agreement it would be superfluous to say we did not accept what they had agreed upon.

But this draft resolution of Saudi Arabia complements and reaffirms any consensus the two parties may have arrived at. But, oh, it comes from an Asian country — or it could have come from an African country — and immediately, certain Western Powers begin to find loopholes and it becomes a sieve, there are so many holes. "Oh, you should not say this and you should not say that."

Then why do we occupy our seat here? We have a brain, as you do. We do not say it is superior, and I hope it is not inferior. We have a tongue, which wags more than your tongue. We have two ears; we can listen. And we have judgement.

Who are you? You were barbarians ten centuries ago. We were barbarians 6,000 years ago. This superiority complex should have disappeared now that the lions of Africa that were dominated by you are sitting here. Do you still think that because they were erstwhile colonial peoples they should be treated differently? That is a figment of your imagination. They are as capable as — we shall not say more capable than — any one of you here. And that applies to the Asian peoples and the peoples of Latin America. Of course, New Zealand and Australia are part of the Commonwealth, are they not?

Believe me, I could put everybody on the spot, but I am not a troublemaker. I could ask for a roll-call vote on this draft resolution, because it is factual; it is clear; it is not controversial. But it does not suit the secret diplomacy of certain Powers. That is the long and the short of it.

The United Nations is not predicated on secret diplomacy. It is predicated on open negotiations.

What should I do? Should I antagonize my colleagues and press this draft to the vote, and for that matter ask for a roll-call vote? I could easily do that. But in deference to the so-called two Koreas — there is only one Korean people — I shall not press my draft resolution to the vote, with the following proviso: that I do hope the Committee will have no objection to this draft resolution figuring verbatim in the report of the Rapporteur when he reads it from the podium of the General Assembly. And I can promise you I shall not bother you with more explanations in the General Assembly.

I do this on account of the agreement between the delegations of North and South Korea to accept the substance of the consensus, which I hope you, Mr. Chairman, will disclose to us

because many of us are in the dark. We will welcome negotiations between them with a view to reaching an accord that will ultimately pave the way to the admission of a single Korean State to membership of the United Nations.

Why am I insisting on the inclusion of my draft resolution word for word in the report of the Rapporteur? So that when both parties, North and South, discuss their differences, the substance of that draft resolution will remind them how they became the victims of external forces, and to see to it that they will not let anybody in the future play with their destiny as a single nation.

My request to you, Sir, is to ascertain whether such a solution is acceptable to the Committee. If it is not acceptable, I can assure you that I stand on my right to submit this draft resolution to a roll-call vote, no matter what the result of that vote may be.



SEYDOU TRAORE

Mali

The delegation of Mali has no objection to the consensus that was reached this morning since it was accepted by the main parties concerned. Nevertheless, we must stress once again the gravity of the Korean problem because of the implications of our Organization's involvement in

this unhappy affair. The heroic people of Korea — that through decades of fighting has not lost its national identity — was able, despite the difficulties, to bring to bear its millennial culture and would not accept the partition imposed upon it under the banner of the United Nations. As we know, after the victory over Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States, which had no doubt about Korean realities, in 1945, with the participation of the United Kingdom and China, concluded the Moscow Agreement which created a mixed Soviet-United States Commission for the unification of Korea and the formation of a provisional government.

But the process of reunification of Korea was thwarted by the intervention of foreign forces and, despite the manoeuvres, the assembly of all the Korean people, composed of 360 representatives of the South and the North, created a single government and made Marshal Kim Il Sung its President.

Then the Security Council, urgently convened, met while the foreign air force and troops were still attacking North Korea. By a resolution adopted on 7 July 1950, under pressure of certain States, the occupation by foreign forces was legitimized under the flag of the United Nations, and a Commander was appointed in the person of General MacArthur.

I wished to cast this backward glance because I wanted to explain why we were ready to accept the consensus; it was imperative that the way in which the United Nations was implicated in the question of Korea should be made clear.

While affirming that United Nations forces should not remain in Korea, or any other place, longer than necessary to ensure the unification of the country, the General Assembly, in its resolution 376 (V) of 7 October 1950, recommended that:

“All appropriate steps be taken to ensure conditions of stability throughout Korea;” and that

“All constituent acts be taken ... for the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government in the sovereign State of Korea;”

It also recommended co-operation of the two Koreas in this process.

It will therefore easily be understood that my delegation supports the recommendation, contained in the consensus, that an end be put to the existence of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. As a matter of fact, the Commission itself, aware of its inability to change the current of history, has just requested its own dissolution. That admission of failure, even though belatedly made, confirms our profound conviction that our Organization was dragged into a problem that fell exclusively within the sovereignty of the Korean people. If we wish to avoid the bankruptcy of the United Nations authority, we must immediately act to disengage the United Nations from the war of colonial reconquest into which it was dragged in Asia.

We must therefore begin by removing the United Nations endorsement of the troops occupying Korea and operating illegally there under the United Nations name. We must do so all the more promptly because the Korean people, which has lost its faith in the international Organization, has itself created, through its Red Cross organizations, a body that will certainly enable it to bring about in practice its reunification. The United Nations must endeavour to regain its authority in the eyes of the international community by making a positive contribution to the reconstruction of the Korean nation.

Although my delegation regrets the fact that a consensus was not achieved on the question of the withdrawal of the troops and on discontinuing the use of the United Nations flag, it is nevertheless our view that at this stage in the history of Korea, any foreign interference must be forbidden. In our view, the wise five-point proposals put forward by the beloved leader of the Korean people, President Kim Il Sung, inasmuch as they take into account the profound aspirations of the Korean peo-

ple, constitute a realistic basis for settling the Korean question, which, in spite of everything, is still the prime objective of the international community.

By encouraging the two parties to continue and to broaden their dialogue, and by removing the Korean question from the possibility of foreign interference, we shall be assisting in the peaceful reunification of Korea, which is the first aim that the United Nations set itself with regard to that country that had been torn apart by the last world war. One of the last and most grave vestiges of the cold war will thus disappear. The Land of the Morning Calm will once again find its strength, drawing from the bountiful history of its age-old past all the resources necessary for its reconstruction. The United Nations must never again allow itself to be dragged into this type of venture, which is contrary to all the principles it invokes and proclaims. We shall then have performed a useful task, becoming reconciled among ourselves first, and then with the martyred people of Korea; with the lofty ideals embodied in our Organization and, finally in the eyes of all mankind.

My delegation dares to hope that the provisions of the consensus we have just adopted will be respected and that next year we shall busily set about finding a final solution to the Korean problem.



ABDUL SAMAD GH AUS

Afghanistan

The name of the delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan was inscribed on the list of speakers in the general debate on the question of Korea. But in view of the developments of this morning, which resulted in the adoption of a consensus and the termination by the Committee of the general

debate on this item, we shall refrain from speaking at length on the issue before us and shall of course offer no comments on the draft resolutions that were withdrawn.

We support the consensus as it was read to us by the Chairman this morning. We support the consensus first because it reflects the consent of the principal parties and secondly because it underlines the importance in this particular case of dialogue between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea to expedite the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and urges them to continue their negotiations.

In past years, whenever the question of Korea has been discussed in the First Committee the delegation of Afghanistan has expressed the view that the representatives of both Koreas should without any preconditions be given the opportunity to participate in the debate related to that matter. From the very beginning we advocated the necessity of inviting the two parties to take part on an equal footing in the discussion of a problem that directly concerned them. In our opinion, that approach not only was logical and fair but would have better enabled the United Nations to assist the people of Korea in their search for peace and understanding. Moreover, it might have accelerated progress towards an early reunification of the Korean nation. But under the circumstances we were only afforded the occasion to listen to the views of the representatives of the Republic of Korea. Their statements, although informative, could not, obvi-

ously, acquaint us fully with all the aspects of the situation obtaining on the Korean peninsula.

We are happy that this year the discriminatory measures that have until now hampered the participation of the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the deliberations related to their homeland are at last abandoned. That important step towards a just and peaceful settlement of the Korean issue was long overdue, and we wholeheartedly welcome it, as we welcome the establishment of an observer's office at the United Nations for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the presence of the representatives of the Republic of Korea in our midst.

The maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of friendly relations and mutual confidence among nations, call for a speedy solution of the abnormal situation resulting from the division of certain nations. This unfortunate state of affairs not only creates hardship and frustrations for divided nations themselves, but also gives rise to serious tensions that could involve other countries. The division of Korea is a case in point. It is necessary that an end be put to that situation, the continuation of which is detrimental to the interests of the Korean people and can affect adversely peace in Asia and indeed in the world as a whole.

Our attitude with respect to the question of Korea is determined primarily by our concern for the Korean nation, which has lived divided, through no fault of its own, for the last 28 years. The people of Korea in the South and in the North constitutes one nation with one common destiny. It has, therefore, the right to demand its reunification in order to achieve its aspirations as a nation in unity and in peace.

It is our considered opinion that the reunification of Korea has to be brought about independently in accordance with the right of self-determination, to which, like all other peoples, the Korean people is entitled. The reunification of the country should be achieved peacefully and without foreign interference. No matter what its form, foreign interference will affect adversely the conditions of peace and confidence essential for the reunification of the Korean nation and the safeguarding of its genuine interests. If these basic considerations are bypassed and the wishes of the Korean people as a whole, in all matters concerning them, are not fully taken into account, no lasting solution can be possibly found for the problem facing us at present.

Whenever efforts are made with a view to assisting the Korean people to realize its long cherished aspiration for reunification, it is imperative that the reality of the situation as it stands at present in Korea be fully borne in mind. The sovereignty of the Korean people is exercised at present by two separate political entities, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea. Any solution for reunification that would not have the concurrence of the two Governments primarily responsible for the reunification of the Korean nation will not yield the desired results.

It can be deduced from these basic considerations that with regard to the problem of the unification of Korea and other related matters the agreement of both parties is necessary for the attainment of workable and satisfactory solutions. This could be achieved only through contact and dialogue between them. The two Korean States themselves, which happily started negotiations with a view to easing tensions in Korea and finding ways and means for the peaceful unification of their country, have well understood this necessity. It is because of the importance of dialogue between North and South for settling the Korean problem that we welcomed the beginning of talks held in August 1971 by the Red Cross Societies of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea that broke the deadlock, and the agreement in July 1972 by the two Governments to engage in direct negotiations through a Joint North-South Co-ordinating Committee. We have equally noted with satisfaction the Joint Statement of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea made public on 4 July 1972 in which they agreed to the three principles of national reunification.

We believe that the essential elements for a peaceful reunification of Korea are contained in this Joint Statement. We hope that on the basis of these principles, which are enumerated in the consensus adopted this morning by the Committee, the two Korean States will be able to take concrete measures leading rapidly to the peaceful reunification of the country and the satisfactory settlement of the issues separating the North and the South.

What is important for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea now is not to lose the momentum created by the agreement reflected in their Joint Statement. The United Nations and other countries concerned can help by contributing to the emergence of favourable conditions

that would promote the continuation of dialogue between the two Korean States in an atmosphere of confidence and understanding.

As I said a minute ago, our primary concern in dealing with the question of Korea is the well-being of the people of that country and the fulfilment of their aspirations. The Koreans have suffered the wounds of a terrible war and have remained divided for too long. It is high time that this valiant nation be brought together on the basis of self-determination and given a chance to develop and prosper in unity.



SAMAR SEN

India

Yesterday afternoon when I was preparing a full statement on the important problem of Korea which is before us, I received information that the negotiations which had started a day or so earlier had resulted in a solution which would, on the one hand, make it unnecessary to give any comprehensive analysis of the issues confronting us and, on the other hand, avoid voting on the various draft resolutions submitted by a number of delegations. We are indeed glad of this development, for it is clear to us that none of the draft resolutions could be adopted by the necessary majority without much bitter debate and that further efforts would be needed if any solution commanding wide and varied adherence were to be found. We are further pleased that a realistic formula has been found, and we are now confident that it does indeed reflect the consensus of the Committee.

Meanwhile, we have benefited from the views which the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have presented to us through their Ministers. We welcome the participation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in our debate for the first time and appreciate the many gestures of kindness and courtesy that both delegations have made towards all of us. We have always held that no satisfactory discussion, much less a viable solution of the problem, could be expected if both sides were not given a hearing on the basis of equality and with the fullest freedom of expression of opinion.

Indeed, the United Nations approach to the Korean question has been marked, regrettably, by its tendency to take decisions on the views of one party alone. This unbalanced approach was to some extent put right when China took its rightful place among us after nearly 22 years; and, today, with the participation of both North and South Korea we are in a position to dis-

cuss the issues after all the interested parties have given their views on them.

Those considerations made us advocate last year — and mainly privately — that we should at least hear the parties, without debating the question, before they could proceed with their negotiations. However, many Members felt that the presentation of views by the parties would unavoidably lead to acrimonious debate that might stand in the way of satisfactory progress in the negotiations — a progress to which we, all of us, attach the greatest importance. In the afterlight of events, however, there is little doubt that if we had heard the parties last year we could have saved some time and perhaps made the parties more conscious, at an earlier date, of the climate of international opinion.

None the less, the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 enunciating principles on which further progress, particularly on the reunification of Korea, can be made is a most useful document. We hope that after the present debate in the United Nations the parties will redouble their efforts to pursue the negotiation in all fields and come to agreement on various matters with the utmost speed and mutual goodwill.

The General Assembly's decision to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea is also appropriate. It should be our effort to ensure that the people of Korea who have lived together for untold centuries will be able to build a common future for the Peninsula without any interference of any kind from outside. Obviously, we have not heard the last of this and other connected problems, and we look forward to a better future for the Korean Peninsula in spite of all the difficulties that lie ahead.



SHAILENDRA KUMAR UPADHYAY

Nepal

My delegation has been firm in its opinion that the Korean people are a homogeneous people with a long and great tradition of civilized life and that they have a great potentiality for contributing to the peace and prosperity of the world.

We have been and we remain staunch supporters of the elimination of all unnatural barriers that have been created between the Korean people, so that they may play a vital role in the destiny of Asia in particular and of the world as a whole. We are only too eager to see the 50 million people unified in a single nation State, which, in our firm opinion, will be possible only through their own efforts. No outside interference or counselling, including that of the United Nations, can be more viable than their own efforts, based on the principles of national self-determination.

For those reasons we have welcomed the Joint South-North Communiqué issued by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea on 4 July 1972, in the firm belief that the principles contained therein are fully in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter. As a Member of the United Nations and a small nation which has unshakable faith in the United Nations, we express our great satisfaction at this Joint Communiqué.

Today, in the United Nations system, the Korean people have been represented by two separate Governments, which bear the burden of a legacy which has been passed to them because of the so-called understanding — followed by misunderstanding — among the great Powers during and after the Second World War. What is needed now is to promote understanding between the two Governments in Korea and among the Korean people themselves, and no one can help them better than they themselves.

My delegation expresses its great satisfaction at the outcome which you, Mr. Chairman, announced in your statement. We wish all success to the Korean people in their efforts to reunify their fatherland on the basis of the principles enunciated in the Joint Communiqué.

Before concluding, I should like to extend my delegation's warmest welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, whose presence and participation for the first time in the Committee's deliberations has been of great benefit to us all.



**IBRAHIM SULEIMAN
DHARAT**

Libyan Arab Republic

My delegation's name was on the list of speakers for this afternoon's meeting in the general debate on item 41, but, because of your announcement this morning, Mr. Chairman, of the termination of the general debate, I have no choice but to explain very

briefly my delegation's position on certain issues concerning the question of Korea and the developments which took place during the morning meeting of this Committee.

First of all, it is far from my delegation's intention to oppose the consensus which satisfies the two parties concerned, but please allow me, to place on record the following remarks.

First, my country is a strong believer in the principle of unity for a people who share the same history, language, culture and customs. For that reason my country strongly supports the efforts of the Korean people in their struggle for unity. It is through unity that peace-loving people can play a major role in enhancing and strengthening international peace and security. Second, we strongly believe that the presence of foreign troops in South Korea constitutes a major obstacle to achieving this sacred goal. Therefore, the expulsion of all foreign troops must be the core of the issue.

Finally, I would like to reiterate that the Libyan people will continue lending its support to the heroic people of Korea in its struggle against world imperialism and against reactionary manoeuvres.



**TSEVEGZHAVYN
PUNTSAGNOROV**

Mongolia

The delegation of Mongolia wishes to support the consensus that has been reached, as the first important step towards positive discussion of the Korean problem in the United Nations. The results of the discussion of the Korean question at the twenty-

eight session of the General Assembly have confirmed the fact that one of the causes for the absence of progress in the discussion of that question, which has been for so many years on the agenda of our Organization, lay in the flawed policy of discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It is therefore with great pleasure that we note that an end has been put to that abnormal situation and we have the opportunity to welcome here the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Li Jong Mok, who is taking part for the first time in the work of the General Assembly. This transformation has become possible, in our opinion, as a result of the increase in the authority and the strengthening of the international status of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It also results from the tireless efforts of the socialist States, the non-aligned States and all other peace-loving, progressive forces in support of the just cause of the Korean people and the relaxation of international tensions.

We wish to emphasize that the positive results achieved at this session of the General Assembly are due largely to the efforts of the Government of the DPRK to achieve the peaceful unification of the country. As a result of those efforts, we now see positive trends emerging in the Korean peninsula. A dialogue between the North and the South of Korea has begun, on the basis of the three principles of national unification as stated in the consensus.

The Mongolian People's Republic has expressed its support for the new initiative of the Government of the DPRK, featuring the five points advanced by Comrade Kim Il Sung, in which we find concrete measures for the improvement of relations between the North and the South and for hastening the unification of the country.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian National Revolutionary Party and the President of the Council of Ministers of Mongolia, Comrade Tsedenbal, in his statement at the meeting of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Congress in Ulan Bator, indicated that the new initiative of the DPRK might be viewed as a constructive basis for the settlement of the Korean question in the interest of ensuring peace and security in Asia.

In order to further the development of the new trends in the Korean peninsula, the United Nations must do everything within its power to remove the obstacles that have been raised along the path to the peaceful unification of Korea. As has already been pointed here by a number of speakers, the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, set up by a decision of the fifth session of the General Assembly in violation of the United Nations Charter, has revealed its total inconsistency. The dissolution of the Commission, which has compromised itself because of its futility and lack of objectivity, is long overdue; it should have occurred years ago. However, we must not overlook the fact that the consensus is such that the most important elements of the Korean problem still remain to be resolved. Unfortunately there remains open, for instance, the important question of the presence of foreign troops in southern Korea. The location in the southern part of Korea of military bases and foreign troops is the basic obstacle to the unification of Korea by peaceful and democratic means and is an element that converts the Korean peninsula into one of the dangerous hotbeds of international tension, fraught with threats to international peace. The withdrawal of the foreign troops occupying South Korea under the banner of the United Nations and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command are the key to the solution of the Korean problem. These measures would be in accord not only with the national interests of the Korean people, but also with the interests of the United Nations and the cause of strengthening peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic considers

that adoption of the proposal of the DPRK concerning measures for the prevention of military confrontation in both parts of Korea would be a turning point in the cause of the relaxation of tensions between the South and the North, and would constitute a guarantee for the peaceful unification of the country. At the same time, it would contribute to the freeing of enormous human, financial and material resources to satisfy the needs of economic development and help in raising the standards of living for the country's population.

In view of the clear-cut and concrete proposals of the DPRK, it becomes quite obvious that there is no foundation for the presence of any foreign troops in South Korea. We also see the inconsistency of the theory involving the danger of attack from the North. On the basis of the historical developments and after a quarter century of confrontation a dialogue has begun between the North and the South, and in both parts of the country efforts are being made towards reunification.

The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic supports the position of the Government of the DPRK concerning the admission of Korea to membership in the United Nations as a single State after confederation. In the position of the DPRK we find the embodiment of the aspirations of all the Korean people to unification and consolidation in accordance with its highest national interests. Beyond any doubt much depends now upon the successful outcome of the dialogue between the North and the South. Of course, in order for progress to be made in that dialogue there must be a mutual striving for ways and means of solving the problem. We are convinced that the aspiration of the Korean people to live as a single family within the framework of a single State is, in the final analysis, invincible. The just cause of the Korean people is broadly supported by world public opinion. This fact was attested to by the Fourth Conference of the Non-Aligned States, held in Algiers, and by the World Peace Congress in Moscow. Mongolia, as a socialist State of Asia which enjoys close ties of friendship and co-operation with the DPRK, sincerely hopes that the national aspirations of the talented and industrious Korean people will be realized in the near future in the interest of welfare, peace and tranquility in the Asian continent and throughout the world.



**MEMORANDUM
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA**

**FOR THE INDEPENDENT, PEACEFUL
REUNIFICATION OF KOREA**

The question of Korean reunification is an urgent matter the solution of which brooks no further delay either in the national point of view of the Korean people or in the international point of view.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people have been making all their efforts to put an end to the division of the nation as early as possible and build a single, reunified, completely national independent state.

However, the urgent aspiration of the Korean people for peaceful reunification has not yet been realized owing to the interference of outside forces and grave obstacles are still today lying in the way of reunification.

The question on Korea has been put on the agenda of the current 28th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

In this connection, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issues this memorandum, deeming it necessary to make clear once again before the whole world its just and fair stand and line of achieving the peaceful reunification of the country.

1. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE KOREAN QUESTION

— Korea was liberated from 36 years of the yoke of Japanese imperialist colonial rule on August 15, 1945.

As is widely known to the world, the Korean nation is a single people who have lived harmoniously with the same language and with the same culture and customs in the same territory for thousands of years.

When their fatherland was liberated, the Korean people set up People's Committees, the people's organs of power, at their own initiative over the whole length and breadth of Korea, and embarked upon the creation of a new life.

— But the Soviet and U.S. armies entered Korea with 38 degrees north latitude as a temporary demarcation line in order to disarm the defeated Japanese army.

On September 8, 1945, a little more than twenty days after the liberation of Korea, the U.S. army landed on the area south of the 38th parallel. The U.S. army had no sooner landed on south Korea than it proclaimed the enforcement of military government, acting as an occupation force.

* The Proclamation issued at that time on the enforcement of Military Government reads in part:

“...By virtue of the authority vested in me as Commander-in-Chief, the United States Army Forces, Pacific, I hereby establish military control over Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the inhabitants thereof...

“Persons will obey my orders and orders issued under my authority. Acts of resistance to the occupying forces or any acts which may disturb public peace and safety will be punished severely...” (from Proclamation No. 1 by MacArthur.)

Why did the U.S. army enter liberated Korea and enforce such a horrible military government?

All the subsequent historical facts furnish a clear-cut answer to this question.

Synchronizing with enforcement of military government, the U.S. army, first of all, totally suppressed and dissolved the

people's organs of power set up by the Korean people themselves before.

Further, it blocked the 38th parallel like a border line and cut off traffic, transport, communication and travel between the north and the south which had been freely conducted till that time.

This is how the tragic division of Korea was originated.

— The Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Soviet Union, the U.S. and the U.K. held in Moscow in December 1945 decided to "re-establish Korea as an independent state and develop the country on democratic principles" and, for this purpose, "set up a provisional democratic government" in Korea at an early date.

All the patriotic forces of Korea positively welcomed this decision and endeavoured to put it into practice.

But the U.S. Government refused to implement this decision which it had itself signed. The United States raked up Syngman Rhee whom it had long since trained as its puppet in the U.S., the handful of south Korean traitors who had served the Japanese colonial rulers, and other traitorous forces of south Korea, and organized and instigated them to launch a movement against the decision of the Three Foreign Ministers' Conference.

To crown all, it unilaterally wrecked the work of the Soviet-U.S. Joint Commission aimed to implement the decision of the Three Foreign Ministers' Conference.

This showed that the United States, far from concerned about "re-establishing Korea as an independent state and developing the country on democratic principles," was already trying to realize the aggressive ambition on Korea it had harboured from more than 100 years ago and to convert south Korea into its colony and military base, taking advantage of its setting foot on south Korea.

* Even according to the secret foreign relations documents on the Korean question made public by the U.S. Department of State some years ago, the former U.S. President Truman, in 1946, called Korea an "ideal battlefield which might decide all the American successes in Asia," and "asked for our stay in Korea for a sufficient period of time to fulfil our tasks and for appropriate personnel and enough fund secured for the fulfilment

of the tasks" (from *American Foreign Relations, Far East*, 1946.)

All the ensuing actions by the United States were geared to the purpose of realizing this aim without difficulty.

— In 1947 the U.S. Government unilaterally annulled the decision of the Moscow Three Foreign Ministers' Conference and took the Korean question to the United Nations.

It was a direct violation of the U.N. Charter to place the Korean question on the agenda of the U.N.

It was a violation of Article 107, Chapter XVII of the U.N. Charter which stipulates that the United Nations cannot discuss such questions as the Korean question whose way of disposal had already been defined as a result of the Second World War.

It was also a violation of Article 2, Paragraph 7 of the U.N. Charter which prohibits the discussion of domestic matters of any state.

This notwithstanding, the U.S. Government forcibly placed the Korean question on the agenda of the second session of the U.N. General Assembly and unilaterally fabricated a "resolution" on dispatching the "United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea" and holding "U.N.-supervised elections" in Korea. This is how began the history of the long-drawn discussion of the "Korean question" in the U.N., a calamity both to the Korean people and the United Nations.

As for that time, the great majority of the present countries in the third world were not yet in the United Nations. In defiance of the will of peace-loving states, the United States began to utilize the U.N. authority in fulfilling its aim of aggression against Korea.

— The "resolution" fabricated by the United States unjustly at the U.N. was rightly rejected by the entire Korean people. Such being the case, the United States, in another violation of the U.N. Charter, called the "U.N. Interim Committee," as premeditated, and cooked up a "resolution" on holding separate "elections" in the so-called "possible area," that is, only in south Korea under the U.S. army occupation.

Under the pretext of this "resolution," the United States conducted a separate "election" in south Korea on May 10, 1948, at the point of bayonet of the U.S. army under the "election law" concocted by the U.S. Military Government, in spite

of the unanimous opposition of the entire people in north and south Korea. In what an atmosphere of murderous suppression this "election" called "free election" "supervised by the U.N." was held could be seen clearly from the report dispatched by an American *UP* special correspondent in Seoul, which reads in part:

* "American reconnaissance planes flew overhead... the police and specially appointed civilians, with the backing of the U.S. troops, set up barricades at main points and intersections and guards were posted at each entrance of back alleys.

"Civilian guards were armed with axe handles, baseball bats and clubs, and the Korean guards with U.S. carbines. The atmosphere resembled that of a city under martial law" (south Korean paper *Kyonghyang Sinmun*, May 12, 1948.)

The United States framed up a separate south Korean puppet regime bossed by notorious Syngman Rhee in August 1948 with the returns of the suppressive, fraudulent "election." And then it cooked up a U.N. "resolution" calling it the "only legitimate government in Korea."

But with nothing could it conceal the fact that this "regime" was a false regime concocted as a neo-colonialist ruling machine of U.S. imperialism and a dependent "regime" devoid of any independence.

— The establishment of the separate south Korean "regime" by the United States meant that it had entered upon the phase of consolidating the division of Korea openly.

The fact that the United States had long schemed to set up a separate "regime" in south Korea was disclosed by the following evidences as well:

* According to confidential foreign relations documents on the Korean question published by the U.S. Department of State, in November and December 1946 Langdon, political advisor of the Office of U.S. Military Government in south Korea, and Hodge, U.S. Commanding General, said in their respective telegram and letter to the U.S. Secretary of State that Syngman Rhee demanded the "abolition of the agreement of the Moscow Conference of the Three Foreign Ministers and the immediate independence of south Korea" and wanted "to become the head of

the separate government of south Korea" (*American Foreign Relations, Far East*, 1946.)

—The Korean people founded the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the sole, legitimate state of the Korean nation, in September 1948 through the general elections over the whole areas of north and south Korea, in the nation-wide struggle against the colonial enslavement policy and nation-splitting manoeuvres of the United States and the south Korean reactionaries.

At the request of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the Soviet Army completely withdrew from Korea by the end of 1948.

This created more favourable conditions for the Korean people to solve the Korean question by themselves.

But the U.S. army refused to pull out of south Korea, because it aimed to protect with bayonets the isolated south Korean puppet regime which could not win the people's support.

And it also aimed to invade the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

—Following the establishment of the south Korean separate "regime," "unification through northward march" was openly proclaimed as a policy in south Korea and extensive preparations were stepped up for "northward expedition."

In June 1950 the U.S. imperialists finally sent Dulles directly to south Korea to ignite a war.

When the invasion of the south Korean troops was crushed to pieces and they took to flight in face of the heroic counter-attack of the Korean People's Army, the United States started a direct barbarous armed intervention, throwing in its ground, naval and air forces.

—Having provoked the aggressive war in Korea, the United States called the U.N. Security Council under a premeditated plan and faked up "resolutions" for putting the "U.N. forces" helmets on the heads of the U.S. aggression troops, branding the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the victim of aggression, as "aggressor" and describing the armed aggression of the U.S. army as a "self-defensive police action" of the United Nations.

At the same time it reorganized the "U.N. Commission on Korea," which they had formed as a tool of aggression against

Korea, into the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea."

The absolute unreasonableness of the "resolution" on sending the "U.N. forces" to Korea was proved by the fact that it was manufactured without any confirmed investigation as to who had provoked the war in Korea, in the absence of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the victim of aggression, and even in violation of the principle of unanimous vote of all the permanent members of the Security Council.

* Even French President De Gaulle admitted in February 1965 that the U.N. "resolution" on dispatching the "U.N. forces" to Korea was wrong, saying that as far as he knew, regarding the actions of the "U.N. forces" in Korea, the "United Nations deviated from the principles of its Charter, going beyond the limits of its original nature and functions" (Paris, Feb. 4, 1965, *AFP*.)

— The United States carried out the aggressive war in Korea for three years, resorting to the most bestial methods unheard-of in the war history of the world, but it could never bring the Korean people to their knees.

Having repeatedly suffered shameful defeats in face of the heroic struggle of the Korean people who were enjoying the unanimous support and encouragement of the peace-loving peoples across the world, the United States was compelled to put its signature on the Armistice Agreement in July 1953 at the very place where it had unleashed the aggressive war. This meant the start of downhill slide of U.S. imperialism after the Second World War.

The armistice in Korea again created the possibility of peaceful settlement to the Korean question.

* Paragraph 60 of the Korean Armistice Agreement provides as follows:

"In order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the Military Commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the Governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all

foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc.”

But the United States did not observe the Armistice Agreement from the outset.

The United States stepped up preparations for a new war and opposed the peaceful reunification of Korea in every way, while instigating the south Korean authorities to openly declare that they “have no obligation to honour the Korean Armistice” and continuously to advocate “reunification through northward march.”

Already in August 1953, immediately after the signing of the Armistice Agreement, the United States concluded the “U.S.-ROK Mutual Defence Pact” stipulating the permanent occupation of south Korea by the U.S. army in complete contravention of the spirit of Paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement which provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

The United States also buried the question of convening a higher-level political conference provided for in the Armistice Agreement, by walking out unilaterally from the Panmunjom preliminary talks held for the convocation of this conference in December 1953.

— From April to June, 1954, the Geneva conference was held for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

The United States not only rejected the most reasonable proposal for the reunification of Korea set forth by the representative of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea at this conference but also unilaterally declared the conference suspended, turning down even our proposals on “reaching initial agreement on the matters of principle which have already been or can be approached mutually during the consideration of the Korean question” and our proposal on “agreeing to continued endeavours so as to reach agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.”

No negotiations had taken place between the two sides for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question since then up to 1971 when north-south dialogue started.

— Of course many good opportunities had offered during that period, too, to settle the Korean question peacefully.

For instance, in February 1958 the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea put forward new epochal

proposals including the withdrawal of all foreign troops for the independent peaceful reunification of Korea.

The Government of the People's Republic of China fully supported these proposals and all the Chinese People's Volunteers withdrew from Korea at their initiative by the end of 1958.

This opened up a very favourable phase for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

The U.S. Government, however, refused to withdraw its troops this time again and continued to stubbornly block the road to Korean reunification.

— In April 1960 the Syngman Rhee "government" was overthrown by the heroic uprising of the people in south Korea.

This exposed that all the assertions of the United States which had described the puppet regime as a democratic "regime" representing the people's will under the pretext of the U.N. "resolution" were falsehood and lies. It also meant the shameful bankruptcy of the neo-colonialist policy pursued by the U.S. in south Korea under the name of the U.N.

Following the April 19 uprising, a trend towards peaceful reunification of the country surged high as never before among the south Korean people in support of the line of national reunification newly set forth by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In an attempt to check this trend, the United States instigated the military fascist elements of south Korea to stage a military coup d'etat in May 1961.

Having usurped power, the present south Korean authorities arrested, imprisoned and slaughtered at random all patriots and political figures of south Korea who had demanded peaceful reunification.

South Korea was plunged in the darkness of military fascist suppression.

— In the 1960's following the setting up of military fascist regime, war preparations and military provocations against the northern half of the Republic were intensified as never before in south Korea.

The United States shipped into south Korea larger quantities of mass-destruction as well as up-to-date weapons including tactical nuclear ones and guided missiles to boost the combat capacity of the U.S. army occupying south Korea and increase the numerical strength of the south Korean army, while inten-

sifying daily direct armed provocations against the northern half of the Republic.

The south Korean authorities put up a theory of "unification by prevailing over communism" instead of the bankrupt theory of "unification through northward march" and more noisily advocated confrontation based on strength between the north and the south.

Just as a war broke out in Korea following Dulles' inspection of the 38th parallel in June 1950, so the situation in Korea was aggravated to the extreme, resembling that on the eve of the outbreak of the Korean war, after U.S. President Johnson had flown into south Korea in October 1966 to inspect the areas along the Military Demarcation Line.

* In January 1968 the U.S. armed spy ship "Pueblo" was captured and rightly punished by the Korean People's Army when it intruded deep into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to commit espionage activity.

* In April 1969 the U.S. large-size spy plane "EC-121" was shot down by the Korean People's Army when it intruded deep into the territorial air of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to commit spying activity.

Such military provocations committed by the United States one after another are deliberate acts of aggression which imperialists commit only on the eve of war in order to find pretexts for provoking a war.

The U.S. Government itself could not but officially confess later such crimes of aggression against the Korean people.

* The letter of apology addressed by the United States Government to the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in December 1968 in connection with the "Pueblo" incident reads in part:

The U.S. Government "...shoulders full responsibility and solemnly apologizes for the grave acts of espionage committed by the U.S. ship against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea after having intruded into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

"And gives firm assurance that no U.S. ship will intrude again in future into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea."

These incidents followed by the whole world with deep apprehension were prevented from turning into a large-scale

war and straightened out only thanks to the consistent peace-loving policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

—As is seen above, it is none other than the United States which has divided Korea and hampered its reunification.

It was the United States which occupied liberated south Korea, enforced military government there illegally and abrogated the international agreements on Korea unilaterally; it was also the U.S. which fabricated a separate "regime" in south Korea under the name of the U.N.; and it was again the U.S. which provoked the war of aggression in Korea.

It is also none other than the United States which has prevented any contact or negotiation for reunification between the north and the south and stepped up preparations for new war against the northern half of the Republic in systematic violation of the Armistice Agreement after the ceasefire.

In an attempt to cover up such acts, the United States placed the "Korean question" on the agenda of the U.N. like an annual ritual even after the Korean armistice, and reproduced annually stereotyped "resolutions" clamouring for "elections under the U.N. supervision," the continued presence of the "U.N. Forces" and the "UNCURK" in south Korea and what not.

But things did not turn out always as the United States wanted.

As its foundation was shaken at the United Nations, the United States put off the discussion of the question on Korea twice—at the 26th and 27th sessions of the U.N. General Assembly.

The U.S. was the very ringleader who brought the Korean question before the U.N. And now it itself had to propose ending the discussion of the question on Korea at the United Nations. This shows what a tight corner it was put into.

When the pressure of the public opinion at home and abroad increased, demanding the earliest possible removal of all obstacles to the independent peaceful reunification of the country in Korea, the U.S. Government has also been compelled to agree to the discussion of the question on Korea at the 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly this year.

2. THE CONSISTENT EFFORTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA FOR THE INDEPENDENT, PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

The Korean people have made all their sincere efforts to restore the country to reunification as early as possible, independently, on democratic principles by peaceful means ever since the first days of the artificial division of the country due to the U.S. troops' landing on south Korea.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the political parties and social organizations in the northern half have advanced proposals for peaceful reunification on as many as over 130 occasions since liberation up to date.

The following are some typical examples:

— As early as April 1948 when the U.S. annulled the decision of the Moscow Three Foreign Ministers' Conference and was openly scheming the division of Korea under the name of the U.N., a joint conference of various political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea was held in Pyongyang at the initiative of the Workers' Party of North Korea.

The Conference was attended even by the representatives of the Rightwing political parties of south Korea; it unanimously proposed to make all foreign troops withdraw simultaneously from Korea and to realize the country's reunification by way of establishing a united government through free, general elections throughout Korea. At that time only the U.S. and a handful of treacherous Syngman Rhee clique opposed the proposal.

— In June 1949, the year after the year when the U.S. set up a separate "regime" in south Korea in defiance of the unanimous national desire of the Korean people, 72 political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea formed a Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland with a view to jointly promoting the cause of national reunification and again proposed at that inaugural conference to realize the

peaceful reunification of the country by holding general elections throughout north and south Korea.

— In June 1950 when the danger of war was looming larger day by day as the U.S. and the south Korean authorities stepped up preparations for “northward expedition” and increased armed provocations along the 38th parallel with each passing day, in spite of the peace-loving proposal of the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland again made an earnest proposal to promote ways and means of peaceful national reunification on setting up an all-Korea supreme legislative body through free, general elections throughout north and south Korea.

Following this, the Presidium of the Supreme People’s Assembly of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea put forward a proposal on realizing the peaceful reunification of the country by way of merging the Supreme People’s Assembly and the “national assembly” of south Korea as a single all-Korea legislative organ.

The U.S. and the south Korean authorities, however, finally answered this proposal with the provocation of aggressive war against the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.

— The Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea has not ceased even a moment to endeavour for the peaceful reunification of the country after the armistice in Korea as well.

Following the break-off of the Geneva Conference for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question the Eighth Session of the Supreme People’s Assembly of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea advanced a proposal in October 1954 to hold a joint conference of political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea or a joint session of the Supreme People’s Assembly of the D.P.R.K. and the south Korean “national assembly” in Pyongyang or Seoul.

— In August 1955 the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea proposed that measures should be taken to compel all foreign troops to withdraw from Korea; that the authorities of north and south Korea declare that they will undertake not to resort to any armed forces against each other but to resolve the question of national reunification only by

peaceful means; that the armed forces of north and south Korea be reduced to the minimum; and that a conference of representatives of the north and south Korean authorities be convened.

— In April 1956 the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and proposed to set up a permanent committee, composed of representatives of government authorities and supreme legislative bodies or political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea, with a mission to discuss all problems ranging from removing the barriers which block the political, economic and cultural ties, interchange of materials, travel of people and exchange of correspondence between the north and the south and facilitating mutual contacts to north-south reunification and to take practical measures for them.

— On January 31, 1957 the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposed to the south Korean Red Cross society that the north-south Red Cross organizations discuss the question of helping the families and relatives separated in the north and the south exchange letters of inquiry.

— In February 1958 the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea demanded all countries which had dispatched their armies to Korea to take early, appropriate steps to withdraw their armies from Korea immediately and advanced a proposal to reunify Korea peacefully, holding free elections throughout Korea within a definite period of time after the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops.

— After the overthrow of the Syngman Rhee puppet regime by the uprising of the south Korean people in April 1960, a tendency towards national reunification grew unprecedentedly in south Korea.

In his report at the 15th anniversary celebration of August 15 Liberation in 1960, President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea elucidated again in a comprehensive way the invariable line of reunifying the country peacefully on independent and democratic principles and advanced a new epochal proposal of enforcing the Confederation of north and south Korea as a transitional measure pending complete reuni-

fication if the south Korean authorities could not still agree to free north-south general elections, and realizing economic and cultural interchange, correspondence, travel of people, etc.

The 8th Session of the Second Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea held in November 1960, in a concrete form of his programmatic proposals, advanced a detailed recommendation on realizing economic and cultural exchange and cooperation between the north and the south and facilitating the independent development of national economy in south Korea. The recommendation included the over-all measures for rehabilitating and developing agriculture, fishery, national industry and national culture, extensively conducting housing construction and stabilizing and improving the livelihood of people in south Korea, and the offers of the Government of our Republic to bear the stupendous financial and economic expenditure for such undertakings.

— Even after the United States instigated the present south Korean authorities to fabricate a military coup d'etat in May 1961 and eliminated all the possibilities of peaceful national reunification, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea continued to make various proposals for national salvation, out of the single desire to remove the calamities of the nation and bring earlier the reunification of the country.

In June 1962 the Eleventh Session of the Second Supreme People's Assembly proposed to the south Korean authorities to meet with us in Panmunjom, Pyongyang or Seoul to negotiate, first of all, about withdrawal of the U.S. army from south Korea, the pre-requisite to solving all problems, about conclusion of a peace agreement between the north and the south and reduction of armed forces in the south and the north, etc., if they had no intention of discussing the reunification question with us right then.

— In December 1963 a joint conference of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly, the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland and the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland proposed that the representatives of north and south Korea meet first of all to consult on practical measures leading to complete reunification, including economic and cultural interchange and institution of a North-South Confederation as a measure to join the severed ties of the nation.

— The Third Session of the Third Supreme People's Assembly held in March 1964 proposed to achieve national unity and cooperation by convening a joint conference of political parties and social organizations of north and south Korea, or through contacts and exchange of views between the representatives of all strata in north and south Korea; with a view to rehabilitating the devastated economy of south Korea and solving the living problems of the people, it offered to supply south Korea annually with 2 million sok of rice, 100,000 tons of structural steel, 1,000 million kwh of electricity, 10,000 tons of chemical fibre, cement, timber, and machines, etc., and accept the south Korean unemployed to the northern half and provide them with occupation and stable life.

— The Fourth Session of the Third Supreme People's Assembly held in May 1965 also proposed save-the-nation measures to reject the outside forces, realize national unity and accelerate national reunification.

But the U.S. and the south Korean authorities brought the situation nearer to the brink of war with each passing day by committing more frantic armed provocations against the northern half of the Republic. Under this circumstance the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea could not put forth proposals for peaceful reunification of the country any longer since then. The Korean question became more and more frozen.

— Entering the 1970's, new changes took place in the situation at home and abroad. This created favourable conditions for accelerating the peaceful reunification of the country. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea advanced an eight-point proposal for national reunification at the Fifth Session of the Fourth Supreme People's Assembly in April 1971.

Its content is as follows:

(1) to make the U.S. troops withdraw from south Korea; (2) to reduce the armed forces of the north and the south to 100,000 or less men respectively; (3) to abolish the "ROK-U.S. Mutual Defence Pact," the "ROK-Japan Treaty" and all other treacherous and shackling treaties concluded by the south Korean "regime"; (4) to establish a unified central government by holding North-South general elections independently on a democratic basis; (5) to ensure all the political parties, public

organizations and individual personages freedom of political activity in the whole areas of north and south Korea in order to hold those general elections; (6) to establish a North-South Confederation as a transitional step, if need be; (7) to realize wide-range exchanges between the north and south; and (8) to hold a political consultative meeting of north and south Korea to negotiate the above-mentioned problems.

— All proposals for independent and peaceful national reunification advanced by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea historically were the most just ones stemming from the fundamental principle that one is responsible for one's own destiny and that one has also the capacity for hewing out one's own destiny.

They were the very reflection of the ardent desire of the whole nation for reunification, as well as the most reasonable proposals put forward on the basis of full consideration of the different situations created by division in the north and the south.

But the United States and the successive rulers of south Korea have rejected them unconditionally. Never during the whole past period have they put forth any single proposal of their own concerning the question of Korean reunification.

This single fact is sufficient to show vividly how indifferent they are to the reunification of Korea.

— On August 6, 1971, basing himself on his scientific analysis of the fast-changing situation at home and abroad, President Kim Il Sung elucidated, as follows, an epoch-making line of wide-range north-south negotiations with the purpose of thawing the frozen state of long standing between the north and the south and opening up a new phase of national reunification:

"Apart from the question as to whether or not the south Korean rulers accept our 8-point peaceful reunification programme, why are they, if they truly want the reunification of the country, afraid of contacts and negotiations between the north and the south?

"We are ready to come in touch at any time with all political parties including the Democratic Republican Party, social organizations and individual personages in south Korea."

When this new proposal was advanced, the pressure of the south Korean people increased and the voice of the world people rose more irresistibly, demanding its realisation. This compelled the south Korean authorities, who had so far stubbornly

rejected any contacts between the north and the south, to come out to the dialogue with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea side, though in the form of talks between the Red Cross organizations.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea exerted all its sincere efforts to make a success of the Red Cross talks, believing that though confined to narrow framework the talks were very significant since Koreans got together to discuss internal affairs of the nation.

Thanks to the above-mentioned consistent peaceful endeavours and just lines of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and especially with the historic August 6 speech of President Kim Il Sung as an occasion, the frozen state between the north and the south was broken and the door of contact and dialogue opened between them.

3. DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH

The preliminary talks between the north and south Red Cross organizations started in Panmunjom from September 20, 1971.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, coping with various delaying tactics of the south Korean authorities with patience, actively endeavoured not only for the successful operation of the Red Cross talks but also for the arrangement of wider-range political negotiations.

As a result high-level north-south secret talks were held, apart from the Red Cross talks, and at last a North-South Joint Statement with three principles of national reunification — independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity — set forth by the D.P.R.K. side as its main content was made public on July 4, 1972.

* The three principles of national reunification clarified in the North-South Joint Statement are as follows:

Firstly, reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference;

Secondly, reunification should be achieved by peaceful means without recourse to the use of arms against the other side;

Thirdly, great national unity as one nation should be promoted, first of all, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal and social system.

At the same time the Joint Statement pointed out that the two sides agreed "...upon refraining from slandering and calumniating the other side and from committing armed provocations, big or small, and upon taking active measures for preventing unexpected military conflicts, in order to ease the tension between the north and the south and create an atmosphere of trust"; "...upon realizing versatile interchange between the north and the south to accelerate independent, peaceful reunification"; and "...upon forming and operating a North-South Coordination Commission ...for the purpose of solving the question of the country's reunification on the basis of the principles of national reunification agreed upon."

The announcement of the North-South Joint Statement in Korea which had been in a state of freeze for more than a quarter century since the liberation was an epochal event of great significance in the struggle of the Korean people for achieving national reunification, rejecting the outside forces. This clearly testified to the correctness of the policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which had consistently endeavoured for realizing the independent, peaceful reunification of the country from the principled stand of solving national affairs on its own responsibility.

— Following the publication of the North-South Joint Statement the Democratic People's Republic of Korea side took all sorts of measures in order to translate the agreed points of the Joint Statement into practice.

Through the meetings of the Co-Chairmen of the North-South Co-ordination Commission and the subsequent meetings of the North-South Co-ordination Commission held on three occasions, the D.P.R.K. side proposed the question of realizing collaboration between the north and the south covering all fields of politics, military affairs, diplomacy, economy and culture as a concrete step for implementing the three principles of national reunification.

The D.P.R.K. side proposed realizing political collaboration; and for collaboration in the economic field, it proposed to jointly develop underground resources abundant in the northern half, open fishing grounds in the north and the south for joint

fishing and jointly conduct irrigation projects in the southern half.

For collaboration in scientific and cultural fields, it proposed to carry out joint research work for co-ordinating the national language, make joint research into the history of our country, thereby developing the peculiar national traits of our people, exchange art troupes and sports teams and form single national art troupes and single sports teams and dispatch them abroad jointly.

It also put forward a joint defence plan on jointly repulsing the aggression of outside forces through military collaboration; it also proposed to realize collaboration in the diplomatic field so that the north and the south may take co-ordinated steps in foreign activities.

The concrete proposals of the D.P.R.K. side for the realization of versatile collaboration between the north and the south were positive and reasonable ones for paving the road of reunification actively at the earliest possible date by removing misunderstanding and creating an atmosphere of trust between the north and the south.

— Especially, the D.P.R.K. side advanced an important proposal to eliminate the present military confrontation between the north and the south as a matter of most pressing urgency and key importance for removing distrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south, deepening mutual trust and creating an atmosphere of national unity.

No matter how noisily one may advocate collaboration, mutual visits, etc., no climate of political trust can be created when the two sides are in a state of confrontation with huge armed forces.

Only when the dagger hidden in one's bosom is taken out and laid down, the root-cause of all misunderstanding and distrust can be removed, a climate of mutual trust and unity be created and all the questions raised in the way of the reunification be resolved satisfactorily.

From this point of view, the D.P.R.K. side put forward the following five-point proposal for removing military confrontation between the north and the south:

1) To cease armament reinforcement and arms race, 2) to make all foreign troops including the U.S. army withdraw, 3) to reduce the armed forces in the north and the south to 100,000 or less men respectively and drastically cut their armaments,

4) to stop the introduction of all weapons, combat equipment and war materiel from abroad, and 5) to conclude a peace agreement guaranteeing that the above-mentioned problems shall be solved and that the north and the south not use armed forces against each other.

Since they agreed on realizing national reunification peacefully, without recourse to the force of arms, the south Korean authorities would have had no reason to refuse this fair and reasonable proposal of the D.P.R.K. side if they really had wanted peaceful reunification.

— But, to our regret, all those concrete proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea side failed to receive due response from the south Korean authorities.

When they sat face to face for talks with the D.P.R.K. side, the south Korean authorities made good remarks and agreed on a number of matters of principle; but when they went back, they acted in total contravention of the basic spirit of the Joint Statement.

* South Korean "prime minister" Kim Jong Pil said in an official speech at the south Korean "National Assembly" a few days after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement: "We can not stake our destiny on a few sheets of this Statement nor can we trust it"; the "people should not pin any hope on the North-South Joint Statement" (south Korean news agency *Tongyang*, July 8, 1972.)

* On his return home after signing the North-South Joint Statement, Li Hu Rak professed in his "explanation on the background of the Joint Statement" to the press that not national unity but north-south confrontation would continue even after the publication of the Joint Statement, by saying: "From today on we are going over from north-south confrontation devoid of dialogue to the era of north-south confrontation with dialogue" (south Korean year-book *Hapdong Nyongam* 1973, p. 612.)

There are lots of violations of the North-South Joint Statement committed by the south Korean side, as is seen above, even before the ink was dry on it.

— The North-South Joint Statement stipulates, as the first principle of national reunification, that reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference. But the south Korean authorities, though having

agreed upon this principle, are still clinging to the policy of dependence on outside forces, even claiming that the U.S. army is not an outside force.

* The south Korean "prime minister" said at the south Korean "National Assembly" on July 6, 1972 that the U.S. army under the signboard of the "U.N. forces" should remain in south Korea, insisting that "the U.N. forces in south Korea are not outside forces" (Seoul, south Korean *Kukje Sinbo*, July 6, 1972.)

* On September 2, 1972, Pak Jung Hi said he "will endeavour for the continued presence of the U.S. army through negotiations with the United States" (south Korean *Radio Chungang*, September 2, 1972.)

* On September 12, 1973, the south Korean "prime minister" again repeatedly begged U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defence Clements while on a visit to south Korea for a long-term presence of the U.S. army, telling him that "the U.S. army should remain in south Korea for considerable time in the future" (Seoul, Sept. 12, 1973, south Korean news agency *Hapdong*.)

If they claim that the U.S. troops in south Korea are not outside forces, they mean to say that south Korea is the 51st state of America, next to Hawaii.

The south Korean authorities' refusal to regard even the U.S. army as outside forces offers no other proof than that they have no slightest consciousness of national independence.

Besides, the south Korean authorities keep ushering the Japanese militarist forces into south Korea and conspire with them closely.

* On May 25, 1973 the south Korean "ambassador" to Japan called on Japanese Foreign Minister Ohira and said that "we ask much favour of you because south Korea trusts only Japan" (Japanese daily *Mainichi Shimbun*, May 26, 1973.)

* The south Korean "prime minister" who attended the "meeting of south Korea-Japan legislators friendship consultative council" held in Tokyo on June 12, 1973, repeated the so-called "theory of community of the destinies of south Korea and Japan" advocated by the Japanese militarists to justify their ambition of reinvasion against south Korea, by saying that "...Japan and south Korea are destined to unite with each other in view of

the world tendency towards blocs" (Japanese paper *Mainichi Shimbun*, June 12, 1973.)

How stubbornly the south Korean authorities push ahead with their policy of relying on outside forces even after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement is glaringly revealed by the fact that they are reducing the south Korean economy into a completely dependent economy with the introduction of an unlimited amount of foreign monopoly capital.

* Even according to the official announcement of the south Korean authorities, the amount of foreign capital brought in from the start of its induction to the end of 1972 reached 3,222 million dollars; the total sum of foreign capital introduced as of the end of June 1973 amounted to more than 4,148 million dollars (Seoul, May 2, 1973, south Korean news agency *Tongyang*; Seoul, July 24, 1973, south Korean news agency *Hapdong*.)

— The North-South Joint Statement establishes, as the second principle for national reunification, that reunification should be achieved by peaceful means. But the south Korean authorities are violating this principle totally. They are stepping up armament race and war preparations with added frenzy and aggravating tension, alleging that they should "build up real strength" in order to get the "upper hand in strength" for "confrontation with dialogue" with the D.P.R.K. side; and that "modern war needs blitzkrieg operation."

* On October 1, 1972 Pak Jung Hi said that "now is precisely the time to make all-out efforts for security posture; it is the time to organize the efforts of all the nation so that everybody should rise up and fight with arms in his hands" (Oct. 1, 1972, south Korean *Radio Chungang*.)

* On July 20, 1973, Pak Jung Hi prattled that the main factor for "paving the road to reunification" lay in "the strengthening of defence power, cultivation of national strength and establishment of consciousness for all-out security" (July 20, 1973, south Korean news agency *Hapdong*.)

All this implies that for them there is no other way for reunification than the way of annexing by force on the strength of military superiority, which is not the peaceful way.

While making such clamours, the south Korean authorities are continuously bringing in new types of military equipment

from the United States under the “five-year plan for modernization of the south Korean army” zealously stepped up by the United States, and further hastening arms drive and war preparations.

— The North-South Joint Statement also prescribes that great national unity should be promoted, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal and social system. But the south Korean authorities grossly violate this principle, too: They are intensifying “anti-communist” campaigns, encouraging the idea of north-south confrontation and more harshly suppressing patriotic people and Opposition party figures demanding the independent, peaceful reunification in south Korea.

* On July 7 and 15, 1972, immediately after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, the south Korean authorities put to murderous trial 29 patriots who had striven for the peaceful reunification of the country, sentencing three of them to death and 26 others to severe punishment including penal servitude for life (July 15, 1972, south Korean news agency *Tonghwa*.)

* On July 13, 15 and 28, 1972 they executed Kim Gyu Nam, Kim Jil Rak, Pak Dae In, Chong Tae Muk — patriots who had fought for democratization of south Korean society and the independent, peaceful reunification of the country (July 13, 1972, south Korean *Radio Tongyang*; July 15, 1972, south Korean *Radio Chungang*; July 29, 1972, south Korean news agency *Tonghwa*.)

It is a deliberate act of provocation against reunification for them to have punished one patriot after another who had demanded peaceful reunification of the country right after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement.

Especially in October 1972, the south Korean authorities proclaimed an “extraordinary martial law” on top of the “state of emergency” already in force and fabricated what they call “October revitalization,” virtually the second military fascist coup d’etat.

In this way the south Korean authorities set up a military fascist system directly opposed to peaceful reunification and a system for their long-term dictatorship under the pretext of establishing a system for “peaceful reunification” and intensified war preparations and confrontation posture against the D.P.R.K.

* Even U.S. magazine *the New York Times Sunday Magazine* has this to say regarding it in an article:

"The pretext of Pak Jung Hi who carried out 'revitalization' last autumn was to shore up dialogue between the north and the south. But his real motive was entirely elsewhere." It went on to write:

"...He promulgated a new constitution which had made all democratic systems false, without free discussion and through a national referendum held under martial law... Pak Jung Hi's coup d'etat was something that could never be justified by internal and external conditions.

"It was in essence aimed at eliminating criticism and opponents and prolonging Pak Jung Hi's power indefinitely" (U.S. magazine *the New York Times Sunday Magazine*, May 20, 1973.)

Having tightened their military fascist dictatorial system, the south Korean authorities perpetrated harsher suppression of the patriotic people aspiring for national reunification and all opponent forces going against the grain with them.

* U.S. daily *the Washington Post* wrote:

"A number of arrests still taking place today when nine months have elapsed since Pak Jung Hi enforced a martial law and changed the south Korean policy drastically... bespeak that tension has been created internally." It continued to write: "It is known that for the last five months more than 70 civilians have been arrested on the charge of subversive activity or espionage acts. There are indications that most of them... are heretics and critics of society rather than spies" (U.S. newspaper *the Washington Post*, July 24, 1973.)

The south Korean authorities are arresting and imprisoning at random not only the figures of political, press and academic circles but also even the religious men in south Korea simply because the latter refuse to comply with their anti-national, treacherous acts.

* On July 3 to 5, 1973 the south Korean authorities arrested 15 members of the Christian Presbyterian Association including pastor Pak Hyong Gyu and evangelist Kwon Ho Gyong on the charge of "having attempted to overthrow the government"; and on September 18, 1973, they sentenced them to penal servitude on charge of the so-called "crimes of preparing the attempted rebellion" (Seoul, July 6, 1973, south Korean news agency *Tong-*

yang; September 18, 1973, south Korean *Radio Christian*.)

* The Secretary General of the National Christian Council of south Korea deplored that "we are now living under dictatorship and democracy is weeping," saying that "there is a possibility of the church and the south Korean government confronting with each other because freedom of religion is limited by the government authority" (New York, Sept. 12, 1973, *AFP*.)

In April 1973, in the Military, too, the south Korean authorities arrested and jailed Yun Pil Yong, former "Chief of the Seoul Garrison Command" and scores of other high-ranking officers on the charge of "fraudulence and corruption" for the reason that they refused to fall into line with them; in July 1973 they arrested and imprisoned the Chief of Staff of the "National Security Force Command" of the army and numerous other high-ranking officers also on the charge of "fraudulence and corruption."

What is worse, on August 8 last the south Korean authorities, mobilizing special agents of the "Central Intelligence Agency," perpetrated without hesitation such a brutal international gangsterism as abducting Kim Dae Jung, a democratic figure, in a hotel, Tokyo in broad daylight, taking him to Seoul and placing him under confinement. As for Kim Dae Jung, he ran candidate during the 1971 "presidential election" and was exiling himself in Japan after fighting for democracy and the peaceful reunification of the country.

* In connection with this case, even U.S. paper *the New York Times* pointed out that "it was part of the worldwide efforts of the south Korean Central Intelligence Agency to silence the south Korean Opposition parties" (New York, Aug. 16, 1973, *UPI*.)

The direct involvement of the south Korean Central Intelligence Agency in this case was officially admitted by the Japanese government authorities, too, and the Police Agency of Japan summoned a south Korean "diplomat" who had personally been involved in it.

— Owing to those acts of the south Korean authorities violating the North-South Joint Statement, no progress has been made in the dialogue between the north and the south though a year and more have elapsed since the publication of the Joint Statement.

The south Korean authorities agreed in words to collabora-

tion and interchange in all spheres of politics, military affairs, diplomacy, economy and culture suggested by the D.P.R.K. side, but whenever we proposed to them to put it into practice in a concrete form, they rejected it, saying that "now it is not the phase when it should be discussed."

In an attempt to paper over such stand of theirs, they proposed only in words to "open fully" each other's societies. But in fact they fear the pulling down of any barriers standing between the north and the south and refuse to accept manifold collaboration and interchange proposed by the D.P.R.K. side.

The south Korean authorities opposed political collaboration, saying that now is not the time to discuss political matters, though they held high-level political talks with the D.P.R.K. side and the very meetings of the North-South Co-ordination Commission are political talks.

The south Korean authorities also turned down our proposal to abolish the state of military confrontation and remove tension between the north and the south, describing them as "premature."

They proposed to put off the solution of such urgent problems and gradually resolve only matters of secondary importance through different stages. Actually this is intended not to increase mutual trust and promote great national unity, but to maintain and freeze the country's division, keeping the painful wounds of national partition unhealed.

—In order to bring the north-south Red Cross talks to success, social conditions should be provided so that the family members, relatives and friends dispersed in the north and the south can freely meet each other, really without anxiety.

Nevertheless, the south Korean side claims to maintain forever the so-called "anti-communist law" and "national security law" which stipulate that the south Koreans are severely punished just if they contact with and talk to people of the northern half of the Republic.

In practice they even brutally suppressed the south Korean people for warmly welcoming the Delegation of the Red Cross Society of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which had gone to Seoul for talks.

Under those circumstances, how is it possible to solve the question of free visit, meeting and reunion of the family members, relatives and friends dispersed in the north and the south in the north-south Red Cross talks?

— No big progress has been made in the dialogue between the north and the south, but in this course the contentions and stand of each other have been made clear. Accordingly the D.P.R.K. side pushed ahead with the dialogue patiently with the conviction that the north and the south can get closer to each other in the future and that the Korean nation is fully capable of finding by itself the ways for solving the question of reunification.

The D.P.R.K. side suggested that if the present dialogue fails to make proper progress it would be advisable for the patriotic figures of broad strata to sit down together to exchange their views extensively and promote mutual understanding and thereby solve the question of reunification, rather than the authorities of the north and the south merely argue right and wrong between them. And as a way of putting this suggestion into effect, it proposed to invite the representatives of all political parties and social organizations and personages of all strata in the north and the south to participate in the work of the North-South Coordination Commission to extend its scope or convene a political consultative meeting with the attendance of the representatives of all political parties and social organizations and personages of all strata in the north and the south, separately from the work of the Coordination Commission.

This sincere proposal of the D.P.R.K. side aroused sympathy even from the political circles of south Korea.

* The "immediate policy" adopted at the Congress of the New Democratic Party of south Korea on May 7, 1973 proposed to "exchange the visits of representatives of political parties and social organizations in the north and the south and convert the North-South Coordination Commission into an all-people, consultative body embracing people of all strata," in order to solve the question of national reunification (south Korean newspaper *Choson Ilbo*, May 8, 1973.)

The south Korean authorities, however, opposed the convocation of a wide-range political consultative meeting between the north and the south.

— Having opposed everything and prevented the adoption of any practical measures in the dialogue between the north and the south, the south Korean authorities finally made public on June 23 a so-called "special foreign policy statement on peace

and unification" the essence of which is to propose the simultaneous admission of two Koreas into the United Nations.

The content of this "special statement," in a word, is to split Korea into two Koreas completely and get her permanent division into two states internationally recognized as well.

This is a sabotaging action openly overruling the North-South Joint Statement and practically bringing the north-south dialogue to rupture and an open act of perfidy against the entire Korean people and the world peace-loving people who pinned great expectation and hope on the progress of the dialogue.

— In spite of the sincere and patient endeavours of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea side the dialogue between the north and the south came to a deadlock and the bright prospect for national reunification opened before the Korean nation by the announcement of the North-South Joint Statement became blighted, owing to the above-mentioned double-dealing actions on the part of the south Korean authorities.

4. BASIC OBSTACLE TO DIALOGUE AND REUNIFICATION

Why has the north-south dialogue which started amidst the warm welcome and expectation of the entire Korean people and the world peace-loving people failed to make progress and come to a deadlock?

The main reason is that the United States keeps occupying south Korea, interferes in the internal affairs of Korea and obstructs overtly and covertly the dialogue between the Koreans, using its dominant position in south Korea.

The development of the north-south dialogue in depth fully discloses how deeply the United States has stretched its tentacles of neo-colonialist domination into south Korea and how viciously it is plotting to perpetuate the division of Korea and hamper her reunification.

— After the publication of the North-South Joint Statement the United States pretended outwardly to welcome it but from the outset it poured cold water on the north-south dialogue and hampered it.

* A spokesman of the U.S. State Department held a press conference on July 5, 1972, the very day following the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, and announced that the United States "will continue to help modernize the ROK army and will not withdraw its troops" even if the dialogue may start between the north and south, and this alone will enable the south Korean authorities to "negotiate with confidence from the position of strength in their contacts with north Korea" (Washington, July 5, 1972, AP.)

This is an open declaration that the United States will never withdraw from south Korea; it shows that it is openly egging the south Korean authorities onto the policy of confrontation by strength instead of peaceful reunification of Korea and trying to make Koreans fight among themselves.

Since then the U.S. Government authorities have made such utterances without letup.

* On March 28, 1973, Richardson, former U.S. Secretary of Defence clamoured in his annual report to the Congress that the U.S. support and continued military presence in south Korea made "a contribution to creating the circumstances which enabled south Korea to negotiate with north Korea from the position of strength" and that "the presence of U.S. troops in south Korea is inevitable as ever" in the future (Washington, March 28, 1973, AFP.)

Needless to say, such speeches and behaviors of the U.S. Government authorities run diametrically counter to the North-South Joint Statement.

— The United States has practically stepped up arms reinforcement and war preparations in south Korea and egged the south Korean authorities onto north-south confrontation.

* It was reported that in order to step up the modernization of the south Korean army the United States would continue to give south Korea "free military aid" worth 1,500 million dollars envisaged for the period of the "5-year plan for the modernization of the ROK army" (Seoul, March 8, 1973, south Korean news agency *Tonghwa*.)

Countless are instances showing how the United States is getting frantic in arms reinforcement and war preparations, ceaselessly bringing new type weapons and military equipment

into south Korea, in disregard of the North-South Joint Statement.

Recently the United States is moving even the whole of the U.S. tactical air force in Japan to south Korea.

* Reyman, Chief of the General Staff of U.S. air force, in his testimony at the secret hearing in the U.S. House Appropriations Committee, said that "all the U.S. tactical air force in Japan is being transferred to south Korea as it is necessary to deploy the air force in south Korea" (Seoul, August 16, 1973, south Korean *Radio Christian*.)

At the same time, the United States is moving of late the U.S. air force units withdrawing from Thailand to Japan.

It is an open secret that the reinforcement of U.S. armed forces in Japan is directed against Korea.

* On August 1, 1973, Japanese Foreign Minister Ohira said in Washington that "Japan's recognition of the maintenance of U.S. military bases in Japan under the U.S.-Japan Security Pact constitutes a 'great military contribution' to south Korea" (Tokyo, August 3, 1973, *AFP*.)

According to a report of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as the U.S. troops withdrew from Viet Nam recently, the United States handed over to south Korea various types of sophisticated heavy weapons and military equipment which were mobilized in the war of aggression in Viet Nam.

— While reinforcing the military forces in south Korea, the United States has steadily intensified joint military exercises with the south Korean army and military provocations against the northern half of the Republic. To take only a few instances:

* For several days from July 5, 1972, the day following the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, the U.S. army command mobilized the south Korean army units in the area of the central sector of the front and conducted such military exercises as engineer exercise, mountain warfare, guerrilla warfare, search and ambush operations, "the largest of their kind since the Armistice" (July 5, 1972, south Korean *Radio Chungang*.)

* According to south Korean news agencies, in early April 1973 the U.S. troops in south Korea and the south Korean marine corps mobilized huge armed forces and equipment and staged large-scale "ROK-U.S. joint landing operation exercise" in the southern and eastern

coastal area in a simulated attack on the northern half of the Republic.

* In mid-July 1973, the U.S. troops conducted large-scale "air mobile exercise" called "Fierce Assault No. 2" on Height 150, only 2 miles south of the demilitarized zone in the western sector of the front.

This war exercise reminded people of actual fight to the extent of making "village folk think a war has broken out again in Korea" (July 17, 1973, U.S. paper *Stars and Stripes*.)

* From August 18 to 22, 1973, the officers and men of the U.S. Second Division and the south Korean army conducted "all sorts of education drill necessary for landing operation" (Seoul, September 5, 1973, south Korean *Radio Christian*.)

It is quite clear that all sorts of military exercises ceaselessly staged jointly by the U.S. and south Korean armies including large-scale landing operation exercises are not for defence but for attack.

Furthermore, they have incessantly committed military provocations against the northern half of the Republic as part of practical war exercises.

* On March 7, 1973, south Korean troops intruded into the area of the northern half of the Republic in the eastern sector of the front to perpetrate espionage and hostile acts while committing the armed provocation of firing smoke shells and thousands of shells and bullets from 105 mm guns and other heavy weapons under the cover of aircraft for five hours.

* Cases of military provocations and all forms of violations of the Armistice Agreement committed by them in 14 months till September 3, 1973 after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement on July 4, 1972, numbered over 18,100 — 82 cases of aircraft infiltration, 8 cases of battle ship infiltration, 246 cases of firing shells and bullets, and 5,562 cases of introduction of different types of heavy and automatic weapons into the demilitarized zone.

These facts prove that the actual danger of war in Korea comes not from any threat of "southward invasion" but from the very threat of northward invasion by the U.S. and the south Korean authorities.

— In step with clamorous military exercises of the U.S. troops and the south Korean army, even “anti-air-raid drills” of civilians in a simulated wartime condition are being perpetrated continuously in south Korea.

* On July 15, 1972, “civilian anti-air-raid drills” were conducted simultaneously in 32 cities of south Korea. On August 16, eight million citizens were mobilized in “anti-air-raid drills” in 33 cities, with “imaginary enemy planes flying over the cities” (Seoul, August 16, 1972, south Korean news agency *Hapdong*.)

Such large-scale “anti-air-raid drills” numbered as many as 12 in 1972 alone.

* On September 15 last, the “21st civilian anti-air-raid drills” were conducted simultaneously in 35 cities including 21 ports and in 121 county seats throughout south Korea. It was reported that the “civilian anti-air-raid drills” concentrically examined for the first time the shelter conditions of people from the enemy planes’ surprise attack by giving a sudden air-raid alarm throughout the country” (Seoul, September 15, 1973, south Korean news agency *Hapdong*.)

Is there any place in the world where an air-raid alarm is raised so often all of a sudden and people are forced to “take shelter” as in south Korea?

These acts are intentional provocative acts designed to create a war atmosphere and aggravate tension in Korea and a racket kicked up deliberately to create mistrust between the north and south.

— The U.S. authorities do not bother to conceal that their military assistance to south Korea and war preparations intensified continuously even after the dialogue started between the north and south are based on the general Asian strategy of the United States.

* On February 22, 1973, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Tarr testified in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that “I think” the military “aid” to south Korea “is important for our interests in the Far East” (Washington, February 22, 1973, *USIS*.)

* On May 23, 1973, Moorer, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, announced that the “military equipment and military capabilities in south Korea constitute an im-

portant factor in the future U.S. strategy for the defence of Northeast Asia" (Washington, May 23, 1973, south Korean news agency *Tongyang*.)

As a matter of fact, the United States is afraid lest it should lose its important strategic foothold in Asia if Korea is reunified independently.

* Even a U.S. news agency reported that the United States is worried about the fact that if "tension is actually eased or the reunification is achieved in Korea it will not be allowed to keep its military bases in south Korea" (Washington, August 19, 1973, *UPI*.)

As the United States suffers one defeat after another and is chased out of all parts of Asia, it increasingly regards south Korea as the most important stronghold for its Asian aggression.

The United States, therefore, openly calls south Korea a "testing ground of the Nixon doctrine," and even after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement it is persistently instigating the bellicose elements of south Korea to make Koreans fight among themselves and scheming to perpetuate the division of Korea and create two Koreas, while resorting to the double-dealing tactics.

— The United States is also actively drawing Japan in its aggressive machinations.

* It was reported that at the U.S.-Japan talks held in Washington from the end of July to early August 1973 the United States "requested Japan to give economic and military aid to south Korea for the increase of defence power and modernization of the south Korean army" as "part of the efforts to execute the Nixon doctrine in the Far East" (Japanese paper *Yomiuri Shimbun*, August 2, 1973.)

The Japanese press gave wide publicity to a report that an agreement was reached at the U.S.-Japan talks on the question of pushing ahead with the two Koreas policy presupposing the defence of south Korea by "force" and on taking concerted action in accordance with this at the 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The Japanese militarists' re-invasion of south Korea is being stepped up with each passing day by the conspiracy between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

* A U.S. newspaper, referring to Japan's infiltration into south Korea, wrote that south Korea "is being rapidly

converted into an industrial base of Japan" (U.S. newspaper *Christian Science Monitor*, May 14, 1973.)

South Korea is now being reduced to a dual colony of the U.S. and Japan and the Japanese militarists are acting as the second master next to the United States in south Korea.

— All these facts fully show who truly works for peace and peaceful national reunification in Korea and who truly seeks war and split and who is truly taking the stand of patriotism and national independence and who is truly clinging to the treacherous policy of dependence upon outside forces.

The interference and the aggressive machinations of the United States are the basic cause for the continued danger of war in Korea and the basic obstacle to the north-south dialogue and the reunification.

As for the south Korean authorities, they were obliged to turn up at the dialogue under the pressure of the general trend of the situation as the program of peaceful national reunification advanced by the D.P.R.K. side enjoyed the unanimous support of the Korean people and broad public opinion of the world and the internal and external situation rapidly changed more and more unfavourably to them. But they have not got rid of the heavy burden of the policy of dependence upon outside forces which they have pursued for a long time. Employing a double-dealing tactics at the instigation of the United States, they talked about "peaceful unification" in words only and, in reality, have stepped up, parroting the words of the U.S. authorities, war preparations from the stand of strength, incited mutual distrust, and further intensified their fascist suppression of patriotic people in south Korea, hampered the progress of the dialogue and persistently pursued the splitting manoeuvres.

The D.P.R.K. side calls for unity accompanied by dialogue, collaboration accompanied by dialogue and reunification through dialogue in conformity with the spirit and principles of the North-South Joint Statement. But the south Korean side cries for "confrontation accompanied by dialogue," "competition accompanied by dialogue" and "co-existence with dialogue." This is nothing but a repetition of words of the U.S. authorities. After all, the south Korean authorities who are opposing the fellow countrymen at the instigation of outside forces are entirely to blame for the deadlock of the north-south dialogue today.

— The south Korean authorities' proposal on simultaneous

entry of two Koreas into the United Nations, which fully discloses their splittist nature, is a plot hatched by the United States.

This was clearly proved by the fact that Rogers, former U.S. Secretary of State, personally visited south Korea on account of this question and declared that he would actively support this proposal and give cooperation and that the U.S. took the lead in submitting a draft resolution on simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the United Nations to the current 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

* On July 20, 1973, Rogers visited south Korea and said that he "actively supports the simultaneous admission of north and south Korea to the United Nations" and that "the United States will make all possible diplomatic efforts to realize the simultaneous admission of north and south Korea to the United Nations" (Seoul, July 20, 1973, south Korean news agency *Tongyang*; Washington, July 20, 1973, south Korean news agency *Hapdong*.)

All facts clearly show that U.S. imperialism is the very one who has split Korea, occupying south Korea for nearly 30 years and the very ringleader who is hampering today the north-south dialogue and plotting to create two Koreas.

5. THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA RESOLUTELY OPPOSES THE PROPOSAL FOR SIMULTANEOUS ENTRY OF TWO KOREAS INTO THE U.N.

Due to the proposal on simultaneous entry of two Koreas into the U.N. openly put forth by the United States and the south Korean authorities, Korea is now standing at the grave cross-roads of perpetual division or reunification of the country.

For the Korean people the road to reunification is a road of patriotism, independence and prosperity whereas the road to division is a road of treachery and national ruin. No Korean wants the division of the country into two. If any, they are only a handful of elements in south Korea. The absolute majority of the Korean people assert that there is no reason why our nation, originally a single nation, should be divided into two and that it should be reunified without fail.

— The proposal on simultaneous entry of two Koreas into the U.N. put forward by the United States and the south Korean authorities is resolutely opposed and rejected not only by the people in the northern half of the Republic but also by the people in south Korea.

Clear proof of this was furnished by the fact that voices opposing it rang out even from within the south Korean "National Assembly" which is pervaded with a terror-ridden atmosphere under the military fascist suppression.

* On June 27, 1973, at a session of the "National Assembly" a south Korean "National Assemblyman" said that he opposed the so-called "special statement" of Pak Jung Hi calling for the simultaneous entry of two Koreas into the U.N. "because it was a declaration recognizing two Koreas and the division of the country into the north and south" (Seoul, June 28, 1973, south Korean news agency *Hapdong*.)

* The former south Korean observer to the United Nations Rim Chang Yong said: "We oppose Pak Jung Hi because he has greatly undermined democratic liberty in south Korea. And it has been made clear that he supports the freezing of the division of Korea instead of her reunification" (Tokyo, August 8, 1973, *UPI*.)

* An acting president of the "Democratic Republican Party," the ruling party of south Korea, after visiting the U.S., Mexico and Japan at the head of a "south Korean parliamentary diplomatic mission" to win "support" for the "special statement" of Pak Jung Hi on the simultaneous entry of two Koreas into the U.N., admitted that the "compatriots residing abroad" who had been considered to be under their influence "did not understand the June 23 foreign policy statement issued by the Government" (July 31, 1973, south Korean *Radio Christian*.)

* On September 18, 1973 when the 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly opened, American people and Koreans residing in the U.S. staged a demonstration and held a rally in front of the U.N. headquarters supporting Korea's reunification and opposing the two Koreas plot (U.N. Headquarters, September 18, 1973, *Hsinhua*.)

— The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea considers it natural that the Republic should enter the United Nations. But it maintains the stand that it should

not enter the U.N. before the reunification of the country in accordance with the unanimous will of the whole nation to prevent the division of the country and achieve reunification and that it should enter the U.N. as one Korea after the reunification is achieved or a north-south confederation is set up.

Therefore, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea categorically opposes the proposal made by the United States and the south Korean authorities on the simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the United Nations.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea clarifies its fair and aboveboard stand against the simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the U.N. under the present conditions as follows:

1) If the north and south of Korea enter the United Nations separately Korea which has been one national state will be recognized as two states internationally and the division of Korea be fixed indefinitely.

Proceeding from a high sense of responsibility it assumes before the whole nation, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will not commit in our era the shameful crime of handing down to the posterity the division of the fatherland which has been the single country of a homogeneous nation for thousands of years.

The United States and the south Korean authorities, in an attempt to deceive the public opinion, allege that the admission of two Koreas to the United Nations does not mean the perpetuation of the division but is a means of promoting reunification.

But, this is a nonsensical talk which does not hold water. The United States and the south Korean authorities had so far doggedly opposed even the participation of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the discussion of the Korean question at the United Nations as the party concerned. And now they suddenly say that the admission of the Republic and south Korea to the United Nations will promote reunification. This is an incoherent talk.

If they brought up this question with a true desire for Korea's reunification, why should they put it forth in June 1973? The truth of developments was clearly revealed by a Japanese newspaper.

* In connection with the entry in May of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea into the World Health Organization with the support of an overwhelming majority despite all manner of obstructionist manoeuvres of the U.S.,

Japan and the south Korean authorities, the Japanese newspaper *Nihonkeizai Shimbun* wrote as follows:

"Probably no news has been so shocking for the south Korean authorities in the past quarter of a century since the fabrication of the 'Republic of Korea.' After the 'Republic of Korea' was cooked up in 1948, the U.N. General Assembly 'adopted in December that year a resolution on recognizing' it as the 'sole legitimate government' on the Korean peninsula. The general meeting of the World Health Organization frontally challenged this lie and rejected it.

"Now the situation not only shows the crumbling of the international foothold for the existence of the 'regime' called the 'Republic of Korea' but also comes to make the original lie of the 'Japan-ROK treaty' widely recognized internationally" (Japanese newspaper *Nihonkeizai Shimbun*, May 22, 1973.)

As is clear here, the United States put forth the question of simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the U.N. since its machination to isolate and strangle the Democratic People's Republic of Korea internationally has gone totally bankrupt and the foothold for the existence of the south Korean "regime" it cooked up on the pretext of the U.N. "resolution" has been shaken to its very foundation.

This is designed to prevent the collapse of the south Korean "regime" based on the fabrication and prolong its remaining days and thus keep south Korea for ever as a U.S. colony and military base.

This bespeaks that the very proposal on simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the United Nations is aimed at fixing the division of Korea.

The United States and the south Korean authorities have betrayed through their many speeches and acts that they do not want, from the start, the success of the north-south dialogue or the reunification of Korea.

* In the annual foreign policy report presented to the U.S. Congress on May 3, 1973, U.S. President Nixon openly declared that "no one who knows the recent history of the Korean peninsula in trouble believes that reconciliation will be easy or will come early though a dialogue is in progress between north and south Korea" (Washington, May 3, 1973, *UPI*.)

* South Korean "foreign minister" Kim Yong Sik, while

touring various countries to earn support for the simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the United Nations, prattled at a news conference held on August 4, 1973, in a foreign country: "The unification is difficult to be attained. It will not be realized quickly" (Mexico City, August 4, 1973, *UPI*.)

The south Korean authorities openly jabber that the reunification will not be achieved before 100 years at least.

* Pak Jung Hi declared at the "new year press conference" held on January 12, 1972 that "our unification is difficult to be realized before the objective situation is created. The unification was attained 120 years after King Mun Mu of the Silla dynasty called for it" and that one "should not be impatient" (south Korean newspaper *Choson Ilbo*, January 12, 1972.)

It is clear that if the simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the United Nations is permitted under the condition in which the United States and the south Korean authorities do not want an early reunification of Korea, it will provide a condition for the perpetual division of Korea into two states.

2) If such a national state as Korea which has a long history is forcibly split into two states, it will not stabilize the situation but, on the contrary, create permanent tension and a bigger soil for war.

The United States and the south Korean authorities loudly talk that if the north and south of Korea enter the United Nations simultaneously, north-south rapprochement and harmony will be promoted and peace in Korea be consolidated through the United Nations. This is also nothing but a lie and trick.

The Korean nation is a homogeneous nation which cannot live separated into two. And immeasurable are the sufferings it has already undergone owing to the split.

If the two states are created by further fixing this split, none of the Koreans will accept it as promotion of the north-south rapprochement and harmony.

If the south Korean authorities take the road of perpetuating the national split by more tightly clinging to the outside forces in defiance of the opposition of the entire Korean people, it will not preserve tranquillity but further aggravate the distrust and antagonism among the nation.

As long as foreign troops are kept in south Korea and the policy of converting it into a colony and military base is con-

tinuously pursued, there inevitably comes the resistance of the people against exploitation, oppression and outside forces.

If things go this way, the situation in Korea will not be stabilized in the direction of consolidating peace but be led to a complex and tense state of confrontation and it will always remain a threat to peace in Asia as a whole.

Therefore, the proposal on admission of two Koreas to the United Nations runs counter to the principle and objectives of the U.N. Charter.

A reliable and durable peace in Korea can be guaranteed only through the attainment of the country's reunification.

3) South Korea is not entitled to enter the United Nations because the south Korean "regime" is a bogus regime which was rigged up by foreigners and is maintained by the bayonets of foreign troops and south Korea is nothing but a complete colony and military base of a foreign country.

In Korea the only legitimate state representing the will and interests of the entire Korean people is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The south Korean "regime" is a puppet regime which cannot represent the south Korean people and cannot exercise any sovereignty. It is widely known to the world that this "regime" is an out-and-out colonial and dependent "regime" and treacherous, anti-popular and reactionary regime.

Even the West German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (March 26, 1973) called Pak Jung Hi "top gaoler."

Totally isolated from the people, the south Korean "regime" enforces the harsh military fascist dictatorship without parallel in the world and always tries to subsist under the protection of foreign troops.

To what extent the south Korean "regime" is below the level of common sense and how base and corrupt and degenerated it is in morality can be clearly seen in the fact that on the orders of its master, it sent tens of thousands of mercenaries to south Viet Nam to act as sanguinary hangmen arousing indignation among the world people and yet ranted that this "has exalted national prestige," and that it committed such international gangsterism as the Kim Dae Jung abduction case and shamelessly asserted that it has done nothing wrong.

This is fully revealed also in the fact that this "regime" encourages prostitution for foreign tourists as a "strategic state enterprise."

* U.S. magazine *Time*, saying that prostitution for tourists

“is being actively encouraged by Pak Jung Hi and other high ranking officials of the south Korean government,” wrote that prostitutes carrying an official licence issued by the south Korean “government” authorities empty the pockets of tourists in their bed rooms (U.S. magazine *Time*, June 4, 1973.)

The United States tries to make it appear as if south Korea were a legitimate state, by admitting the south Korean “regime” which can hardly be called a regime to the United Nations under the pretext of simultaneous entry of two Koreas into the U.N.

Needless to say, the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea cannot subscribe to this plot of the United States.

Originally, the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea started dialogue with the present south Korean authorities since they pledged to make efforts to solve the reunification question in an independent way, freeing themselves from reliance on the outside forces, as clarified in the North-South Joint Statement.

As long as they keep following the road of enforcing the foreign colonial rule, they will only be forsaken still more internally and externally.

4) In the final analysis, the proposal for entry of two Koreas into the United Nations is nothing but a heinous scheme to flout the honest desire of the world people for peace and camouflage the imperialists’ old method of colonial domination of “divide and rule” under the name of the United Nations.

In the past the United States fabricated the “U.N. forces” and the “U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea” to cover up its armed invasion of and interference in Korea under the signboard of the United Nations. Now that they are on the verge of bankruptcy, the United States worked out a new trick of simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the United Nations under the cloak of “preserving peace” on the basis of “recognizing the actual state of affairs” in an attempt to keep even south Korea alone for ever as its colony and military base.

If such crafty trick of the United States is allowed, it will provide a precedent for the imperialists to resort to such manoeuvres against other countries in the future. The attempt to unjustifiably use the U.N. authority in the neo-colonialist man-

euvres to perpetuate the division of a country should be determinedly checked.

5) In an attempt to justify their proposal on simultaneous entry of two Koreas into the United Nations, the United States and the south Korean authorities are clamouring as if it were a contradiction for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to oppose the entry of two Koreas into the United Nations, while participating in U.N. specialized agencies together with south Korea.

As for our stand on this matter, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has all along adhered to the principle that the north and south should take joint step in the external relations, too, proceeding from the stand that we should prevent the division of the country from being fixed and the country from being divided permanently into two Koreas.

But the south Korean authorities have acted as if theirs were the "only legitimate government" representing the whole of Korea as they entered a number of international organisations unilaterally and have their permanent observer in the U.N. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea cannot tolerate this. As the south Korean authorities persist in such illegal acts, it is natural for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the only legitimate state in Korea, to join various international specialized organizations.

Moreover, as for the U.N. specialized agencies, they are organisations for technical and practical cooperation among all countries of the world. Each country, therefore, takes an active part in the international specialized organizations irrespective of political problems to strengthen technical and practical cooperation and successfully develop it, maintaining close mutual relations internationally.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea considers that no one should use the participation of the D.P.R.K. in the international organizations for strengthening and developing international technical and practical cooperation as a pretext to create two Koreas.

But, as the United Nations is a world political organisation, if two Koreas enter it, this means that the existence of two states is publicly recognized.

Under such conditions, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, proceeding from its consistent stand

to prevent the perpetuation of the national split, considers that it is not necessary to enter the United Nations to which neither of the north and south has been admitted as yet and that our country should be admitted to it as one state after it is reunified or a confederation is instituted.

6) Now some people, saying that Germany enters the United Nations, split into two countries, east and west, raise a question why Korea cannot do so.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea considers that the Korean question and the German question are different from each other.

In Germany the two German states recognized each other as a completely equal sovereign state and completely agreed to enter the U.N. separately. Therefore, it was quite natural that no complex question was raised.

But the situation is quite different in Korea. Korea is artificially divided owing to the foreign troops' occupation of south Korea and south Korea is still under the colonial domination of a foreign country. The Government of the D.P.R.K. and the south Korean authorities take completely different stands concerning the question of admission to the U.N. and have reached no agreement on this matter.

The entire people of Korea, whether they be in the north or south, demand the reunification of the country and oppose the proposal on admission of two Koreas to the U.N., which will perpetuate the division.

Korea and Germany are alike in that they are in a state of division. But they are different in the historic and political background of the division and fundamentally different in the actual condition today. Accordingly, the admission of the two German states to the U.N. cannot be mechanically applied to Korea.

7) Lastly, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea considers that the question of admission of every country to the U.N. should not be regarded as a means of solving any controversial issue or solving the internal affairs of a nation.

As all precedents show, the admission of a state to the U.N. was realised after its independence.

As for the above-mentioned admission of Germany to the U.N., it was proposed after a complete agreement was reached between the two German states.

But the United States says that it raised the question of simultaneous admission of two Koreas as a "means" of accelerating the solution of the reunification question though no agreement has been reached on the question of the admission of the two parts of Korea to the United Nations.

Simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the United Nations cannot be a means of solving the reunification question and it contravenes the principle of the U.N. Charter to raise the question of admission to the U.N. as a means of settling an outstanding issue.

Why is the United States making haste, raising the question which the Korean people do not want and which has not yet been matured? This itself is an intolerable interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people and an insult to them.

Now the United States and the south Korean authorities are talking also about the unilateral admission of south Korea to the U.N. This is all the more intolerable.

Simultaneous admission of two Koreas is unreasonable and dangerous in every respect.

— Historic experience proves that what is unreasonable and illegal and runs counter to the will of the people is short-lived and untenable no matter how it may be camouflaged and imposed upon people by use of power.

The United States noisily advertised as the way to solve the Korean question the "resolution" it passed through by the so-called "majority" after it unjustifiably brought the Korean question to the U.N. in 1947. But the resolution yielded no result as it ignored the will of the Korean people and is now on the point of total bankruptcy, judged by history.

The U.S. Government authorities are trying to save themselves from bankruptcy by employing the new trick of simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the United Nations. But they should realize from the lesson of history that it will never be a way out for them.

The Korean people firmly believe that all the peace-loving peoples and governments of the world will not tolerate the unjust attempt to use again the U.N. authority in perpetuating the division of Korea.

6. THE TRUE WAY TO SOLVE THE KOREAN QUESTION

Korea must be reunified. The way has been clear from the start.

History following the division of Korea into the north and south, especially the experiences gained after the opening of the north-south dialogue show all the more clearly it is entirely due to the occupation of south Korea by foreign troops and the continued outside interference in the internal affairs of Korea that Korea's reunification has been delayed and the dialogue has failed to make expected progress.

In order to attain the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the foreign troops carrying the signboard of "U.N. forces" must withdraw from south Korea, the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" be dissolved, an end be put to all manner of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea and the Korean question be left to the Korean people themselves.

— President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea put forth on June 23, 1973, a new five-point program of the Government of the D.P.R.K. for national reunification with an ardent desire to overcome the difficulty lying on the way to reunification and realize the peaceful reunification of the country, the national aspiration, as early as possible.

Follows its main content:

1) To improve the relations between the north and south of Korea and accelerate the peaceful reunification of the country, it is necessary, first of all, to eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the north and south.

2) To improve the north-south relations and expedite the country's reunification, it is necessary to conduct many-sided collaboration and interchange between the north and south in the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields.

3) In order to settle the question of the country's reunification in conformity with the will and demand of our people, it is necessary to enable the masses of people of all strata in the

north and south to participate in the nation-wide patriotic work for national reunification.

To this end, it is necessary to convene a great national congress composed of representatives of people of all walks of life and representatives of political parties and social organizations in the north and south.

4) What is of great significance today in accelerating the country's reunification is to institute a north-south confederation under a single national title.

It is necessary to convene a great national congress and achieve national unity and, on this basis, institute a north-south confederation, leaving the two existing social systems in the north and south as they are for the time being.

The confederal state shall be named the Confederal Republic of Koryo.

5) We consider that our country should be prevented from being split into two Koreas permanently as a result of the freezing of the national division and that the north and south should work together in the field of external activity, too.

The north and south should not enter the U.N. separately and if they want to enter the U.N. before the reunification of the country, they should enter it as a single state under the national title of the Confederal Republic of Koryo, at least after the confederation is set up.

This new program is a great national salvation program for smashing the two Koreas plot and preventing the perpetual split of the nation and for attaining the country's reunification; it is a most realistic, fair and reasonable proposal for the peaceful settlement of the question of Korea's reunification at present.

This five-point program of national reunification enjoys the undivided support and welcome of the entire Korean people and all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world.

The Government of the D.P.R.K. is convinced that this five-point program of national reunification will make it possible to bridge over the difficulty lying on the way to Korea's reunification at present and settle all matters in a correct way.

— Now the trend of the world demands that the United Nations deal a deserved blow at the manoeuvres of the United States to justify the occupation of south Korea by its troops on the pretext of the U.N. "resolutions."

26 years have already passed since the United States brought the Korean question to the United Nations. Nevertheless, the

Korean question has not yet been settled and the split has not been brought to an end. This must no longer be tolerated from a political and humanitarian point of view or in the light of the U.N. authority.

Moreover, as the United States is continuously using the past "U.N. resolutions" on the Korean question in obstructing the north-south dialogue and the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the United Nations should pay due attention to this.

The United Nations should take measures at the current 28th session for stripping the U.S. troops stationed in south Korea of the "U.N. forces" cover and making them withdraw and dissolving the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and frustrate the two Koreas plot. By so doing, it should truly help facilitate Korea's independent and peaceful reunification in keeping with the trend of the present times to independence and peace.

And the United Nations should no longer pursue a discriminating policy toward the D.P.R.K. and when the question on Korea is debated at the U.N. it must invite the representative of the D.P.R.K.

In this connection, the Government of the D.P.R.K. considers that the draft resolution on the Korean question co-sponsored by Algeria and 31 other peace-loving countries at the current 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly fully accords with the interests of the Korean people and the interests of peace in Asia and the world as a whole and expresses full support to this and strongly demands that this draft resolution be adopted.

—Today there is no ground whatsoever for the foreign troops to stay on in south Korea.

Originally, the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. troops itself is illegal.

Up to this date, more than two decades after the armistice was realized in Korea, foreign troops have been staying in south Korea, wearing the helmets of the "U.N. forces." This totally violates the Korean Armistice Agreement envisaging the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and runs counter to the U.N. principles.

The United States says that it keeps troops in south Korea to "protect" it from the "threat of southward invasion." This is a preposterous pretext.

The Government of the D.P.R.K. repeatedly stated that it

has no intention to "invade the south" and, in reality, there has been no war between the north and south up to this date since the armistice. Where does the so-called "threat of southward invasion" exist? Furthermore, the two sides solemnly declared internally and externally in the North-South Joint Statement that they would not use force of arms against each other. Under such conditions the U.S. pretext is completely untenable.

In the past the United States said that it set up its military bases in south Korea to prevent the "Communist expansion." And today it says it is on good terms with the Soviet Union and China, the big socialist countries. Under this condition, there is no ground whatsoever for it to keep its military bases and troops in south Korea.

In fact, no one in the world today thinks there is the spectre of "threat of Communist aggression."

Today there are no foreign troops in the area of the northern half of the Republic.

What "protection" of foreign troops does south Korea need, while keeping 700,000 strong armed forces and modern arms supplied by the United States?

As the "protection" from the "threat of southward invasion" and the like is a sheer lie, it no longer convinces even the U.S. political circles.

* Even the U.S. *New York Times Sunday Magazine* said:

"The U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee has already raised the question why we should continue to keep 40,000 U.S. troops in south Korea after pulling out of Viet Nam. ...This is because there is no ground to back up the demand of generals of south Korea.

"The demands for the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from south Korea and for the immediate discontinuation of all military aid will be raised continuously" (U.S. *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, May 20, 1973.)

—The United States is also trying to justify the presence of U.S. troops in south Korea on the pretext of the U.N. "resolutions."

But, the U.S. authorities themselves do not conceal the fact that the "U.N. forces" in south Korea have acted from the outset without any relations with the United Nations.

* Clark who was the "Commander of the U.N. forces" towards the end of the Korean war said: "Though I was

the Commander of the U.N. forces in Korea, I don't remember if I had ever received any instructions from the United Nations through the whole course of the war. ...No.

"I will expect nothing from the United Nations."

The "U.N. forces" exist in name only. In reality, they are U.S. troops. That is, the helmets of the "U.N. forces" are put on the U.S. troops occupying south Korea.

* The British news agency *Reuter* said that "what the United States and south Korea usually call the U.N. command is an organ with U.S. generals and staff under the U.S. control" (U.N. Headquarters, May 11, 1967, *Reuter*.)

— In an attempt to prevent the current U.N. General Assembly session from adopting a resolution on the withdrawal of the "U.N. forces" from south Korea, the United States put forth a sophistry that if the "U.N. forces" get out, the situation will grow dangerous as a signatory to the armistice agreement in Korea does not exist.

This is like putting the cart before the horse. No one will be fooled by this talk.

It is entirely owing to the presence of foreign troops in south Korea that there was a war in Korea and now the danger of war exists there.

If foreign troops are withdrawn from south Korea, the danger of war will not increase but be removed.

In this case, as there is the North-South Joint Statement in which the north and south promised not to fight each other and which laid down the installation of direct telephone circuits and the basic ways for preventing armed clashes, the Joint Statement will guarantee more reliably the maintenance of peace in Korea provided the United States and the south Korean authorities strictly observe it and do not want to provoke a war.

With no sophistry or excuse can the United States and the south Korean authorities justify the presence of the "U.N. forces" in south Korea.

— Unable to endure any longer the increasing pressure of the world public opinion that the United Nations must rectify its wrong "resolutions", the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" announced on September 7 that it "suggested" in its "annual report" submitted to the U.N.

Secretary General "the dissolution of the U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea."

This shows that the "UNCURK" on the point of self-disintegration owing to the successive withdrawal of its member nations has come to meet its due end.

However, this organization which has been engaged in falsehood and deception, fraudulence and swindle as a tool of imperialist aggression does not want to meekly step out of the arena till the last moment. The "Commission" is now hard at work to weave one more political plot for obstructing Korea's reunification.

That is, in its "annual report," the "Commission," telling sheer lies and completely reversing black and white to give a false picture of its activities and developments in Korea as it did in the past, tried to give the impression as if the "UNCURK" has made some contribution to "creating an atmosphere" for the peaceful reunification of Korea. And it said that though the "UNCURK" might be dissolved, it would be necessary for the United Nations to "keep a political watch over the situation on the Korean peninsula." This means that though the "UNCURK" may be forced to be dissolved, the "U.N. forces," instead of it, should continue to remain in south Korea.

In accordance with the ready-made script, the United States and the south Korean authorities are clamouring that the U.N. General Assembly session this year should not decide the withdrawal of the "U.N. forces" and the "U.N. forces" should continue to remain till a sort of "guarantee" is provided for peace in Korea.

Unable to put forth any ground to justify this argument, the United States and the south Korean authorities are croaking these days that the "threat from Communist north Korea" is "greater than that before the opening of the north-south dialogue" and that "if a resolution on the withdrawal of the U.N. forces in south Korea is adopted at the current 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly," "another war may break out" and the like.

The whole world including the U.S. Government authorities unanimously recognized and welcomed the relaxation of the tension in Korea since the announcement of the North-South Joint Statement. This is an undeniable fact. No matter how loudly they may cry, making a complete face-about in their attitude, that the "danger has become greater," no one will believe them.

As it is such an incoherent talk, it only becomes a laughing-stock.

The "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and the "U.N. forces" are two peas on the same pod.

If there is no reason for the "UNCURK" to exist any longer, so is for the "U.N. forces."

— The letter of the Supreme People's Assembly of the D.P.R.K. dated April 6, 1973, to the U.S. Congress said:

"If the United States truly wants a peaceful settlement of the Korean question and peace in the Far East and Pacific region, there will be no need for it to keep its army in south Korea any longer and artificially maintain the state of military confrontation with us who call for peaceful reunification.

"We consider it is time when the United States should remove the obstacles lying in the way of Korea's peaceful reunification by changing its policy under the present changed situation, withdrawing its army from south Korea and having the 'United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea' dissolved."

The United States must discontinue its military "aid" to south Korea, give up such acts as introducing weapons and military equipment into south Korea to expand military bases there and staging military exercises and stop instigating the south Korean authorities to make the Koreans fight among themselves, by assisting them by force of arms.

The Government of the D.P.R.K. solemnly declares once again that if all foreign troops withdraw from south Korea, it will cut its army strength of its own accord to 200,000 men or less, will not use force of arms to solve the question of reunification and not "invade the south" as stipulated in the North-South Joint Statement.

Today all the nations and peoples, big or small, of the world are taking the road of liberation and independence. This is an irresistible trend of the times.

The United States and the south Korean authorities must not run counter to the trend but sincerely take the road of the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

— One of the important questions for easing the tension between the north and south of Korea, pulling down the barrier of mutual misunderstanding and promoting the solution of the

reunification question at the present stage is to normalize the work of the North-South Co-ordination Commission.

The south Korean authorities put forth a proposal on simultaneous admission of two Koreas to the United Nations in wanton violation of the North-South Joint Statement and Li Hu Rak who holds the place of the Co-chairman of the Seoul side to the North-South Co-ordination Commission himself organized and committed a shameful terrorist act against a south Korean democratic figure calling for the peaceful reunification of the country. This has marred the atmosphere, making it impossible to sit face to face with him in the Co-ordination Commission and work with faith.

If the south Korean authorities truly have an intention to reunify, they must discard the wrong stand of fixing the national split and have the courage to accept the new five-point program of national reunification put forth by the Government of the D.P.R.K. and agree to reorganize the North-South Co-ordination Commission so that it may satisfactorily discharge the noble mission it assumes before the nation.

— The struggle of the Korean people for the country's independent and peaceful reunification is part of the common struggle of the world people against imperialism, old and new colonialism and racism and for national liberation and the country's independent development and is a struggle for defending peace in Asia and the world, which enjoys the active support and encouragement of the peace-loving people of the world.

The Fourth Summit Conference of non-aligned countries held in Algiers early in September unanimously adopted the following resolution on the problem on Korea, positively supporting the just struggle of the Government of the D.P.R.K. and the Korean people for reunifying the country in an independent and peaceful way, free from any foreign interference:

The Conference;

- 1) Calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in south Korea and an end to all forms of foreign interference in the domestic affairs of Korea;

- 2) Further calls on the United Nations General Assembly, at its Twenty-Eighth Session, to consider the question of Korea and to decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the United Nations flag and on the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and

Rehabilitation of Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea;

3) Declares that Korean membership of the United Nations can only be achieved in the name of a single State, after the complete reunification of the country or after the establishment of a confederation of North and South.

The resolution of the Summit Conference of non-aligned countries is an important resolution which infinitely inspires and encourages the confidence of the Korean people in the justness of their cause and makes a major contribution to accelerating the peaceful reunification of Korea. This is a heavy blow to those who are interfering in the internal affairs of Korea and trying to split Korea into two countries for ever.

The people of the whole world are behind the Korean people and those who support and sympathize with the just cause of the Korean people are growing in number as the days go by.

Availing itself of this opportunity, the Government of the D.P.R.K. expresses deep thanks to the socialist countries, the national independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world for their unstinted support and encouragement to the correct line of the Government of the D.P.R.K. for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country and to the struggle of the Korean people for its realisation.

The Government of the D.P.R.K. expresses the belief that in the future more and more countries and peoples in the world will direct greater attention to the Korean question, support and encourage in every way the Korean people in their just struggle and will exert all efforts especially at the current 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly so that just measures may be taken to smash the two Koreas plots and help achieve Korea's independent and peaceful reunification.

Pyongyang, September 26, 1973

Printed in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

No. 474165